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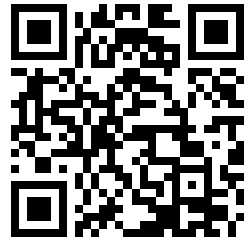

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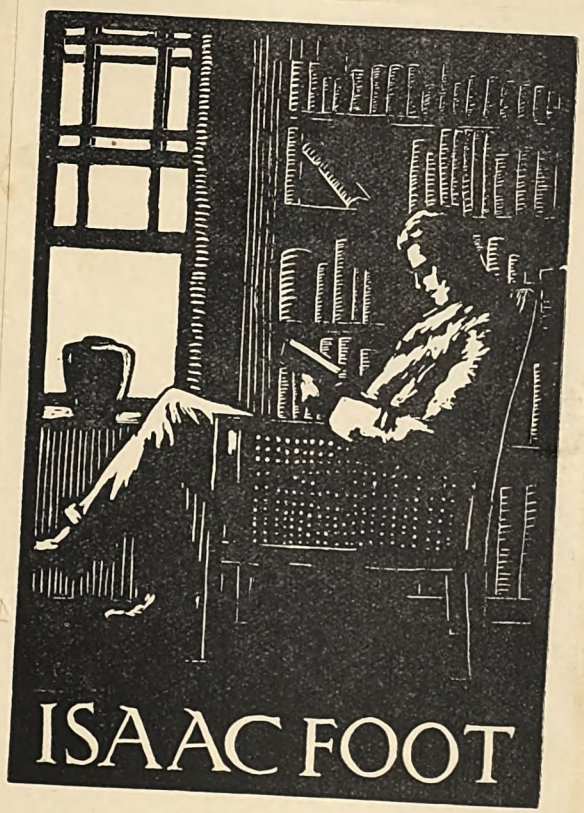

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OLD ITALIAN MASTERS

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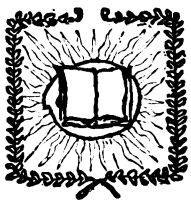
OLD ITALIAN MASTERS

ENGRAVED BY TIMOTHY COLE

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES BY

W. J. STILLMAN

AND BRIEF COMMENTS BY THE ENGRAVER



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T. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE
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PREFACE

In the alternations of artistic tendency, or what is called fashion, which mark the progress of esthetic education, modern taste has returned to the appreciation of the great revival of painting and sculpture of the Italian Renaissance, and the understanding of its transcendent merits in all that concerns the supreme qualities of art. The decadence of Italian art, which coincided with the death of Titian, and to which Correggio was perhaps the chief stimulant and contributor, was hastened by the merely technical merits of the Bolognese Carracci, and continued in a senseless and fanciful exaggeration of the superficial qualities of art until, in the beginning of the present century, it had reached a depth of inanity and conventional insipidity which has been surpassed only by certain phases of Byzantine art. To resemble the "Old Masters" was the supreme attainment of the painter; Italy was the only school; to resemble Titian or Raphael the chief excellences of painting—the education which made Titian and Raphael what they became was utterly lost sight of, and the artist, by beginning where the old men finished, finished where the old men began, in pure conventionalism which was but the unintelligent repetition of formulas of which the meaning and origin had become utterly obscured. Painters followed the "grand style" as parrots follow speech, not knowing the motives which made it "grand," or understanding why it still commanded the recognition of the highest cultivation. The revival of natural science, aided more or less by the natural and inevitable reaction from the intellectual inanity into which art had descended, produced a revolt against the slavery of art-tradition, and this revolt, beginning in England with Hogarth and Constable, became a revolution.

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Like all revolutions, this became proscriptive—the "Old Masters" became the derision of every aspirant, and naturalism the only art. This also was excess, and is followed by reaction. Nature will not teach art, and the exclusive pursuit of her indications can only lead to a simulacrum of art, in which the vital spirit of it can by no chance enter. Art is the expression of all the spiritual faculties of man, passion for beauty, aspiration of the imagination, the manifestation of the individual in his inmost nature. For this nature can only furnish an alphabet, types whose meaning only sympathy can unfold, and which become the language of art. The sense of the insufficiency of the so-called naturalistic art has brought those who craved the real art-influence to look back to the earlier schools, and the result has been that we have found again the springs of art and the true meaning of the desecrated word "Ideal," the visible expression of which is the mission of art, *i. e.*, the individual conception of beauty taken in its largest sense, as what is most desirable and attractive in conceivable form—not to be confounded with the actual, and probably never existing in nature. The Italian Renaissance was in no wise a return to nature as model, but a reawakening of the spiritual activity of the race after a torpor of ages, and which demanded the means of expression of itself. As the religious passion was dominant in that phase of Italian development, the religious motive was that which caught the inspiration; but this was incidental—the essential fact was that the art was not an appeal to nature but a form of poetic speech, the telling of a spiritual truth, not the relation of a natural phenomenon or fact. It was the poet, not the scientist, that appeared.

The more we have studied the earlier schools of art, the farther back we have gone, until we find in the Italian painters of the fourteenth century the truest forms of the inspiration which is the life of art, the most direct and unsophisticated telling of the story to be told, the most unaffected representation of the ideal of the painter or the sculptor; and the more the student who enters into the real spirit of that time accustoms himself to the forms of

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expression, the more painful becomes the sense of the heartlessness of the mass of modern art, the apotheosis of brush-work and the banishment of poetry and intellectual motive. As we learn the history of that art, we find that as, in the course of time, it became naturalistic in its tendencies, its spiritual vitality diminished, and that it finally died from the paralysis of the idealizing faculties brought on by dependence on the model; and the subsequent cultivation of the powers of imitation of textures and tricks of execution, resulting in realism, the caricature of naturalism, has only been the building of the tomb of art.

The work to which Mr. Cole has been called by the management of "The Century," and to the commentation of which I have been invited, is an educational measure of the highest significance to those who desire to study art in its purest manifestations. In the course of my accompaniment of Mr. Cole in his work, I have had occasion to bring the engravings to the knowledge of some of the most thoughtful painters of the day, and their opinions are the highest laudation that could be paid to the work. The fidelity of the engravings from Giotto, Duccio, and certain others can be appreciated only by one who has lived amongst the originals; but one of the most accomplished of the veteran painters remaining to us of the poetic school of modern art, M. Hébert, of the Academy of France, looking at certain plates of the series, said to me that "line could go no farther." The interest taken in the series of reproductions by artists like Messrs. Burne-Jones, G. F. Watts, W. B. Richmond, and others whose studies are in the direction of the noblest ideals of art and in consonance with that true spirit of it, immortal and ever young, which distinguishes pure art from the pictorial fashions of a day, is sufficient proof of its value as a contribution to the art-education of our public, which is the object proposed by its originators.

If criticism should note disparagingly a certain inequality in these engravings of Mr. Cole, not executed in the chronological order of the series, it may be at once and frankly admitted that it does exist and is due to the fact that in educating his public the

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engraver has educated himself, and that the first of his engravings were done from those subjects which came most conveniently to hand, and were in some cases late in the series, while as he went on in the undertaking and learned the character of the older art, as only it can be learned, by patient and faithful devotion to its subtle traits, his own style changed in sympathy with his originals and became what it is, the most refined and appreciative rendering yet given us of the most tender and imaginative art the world possesses; and it is precisely in that stage of the Renaissance which is to us of the highest educational importance, the early Tuscan and Sienese development, coming down to Benozzo Gozzoli, that the sympathy of the engraver became most passionate and his success most complete, and it is there that all previous translations of the originals have been least successful. I may be regarded as extravagant in my appreciation of the work, but I have followed it step by step and in immediate comparison with the originals, as no one else could do, and I have a right to say that no existing reproduction of any art of the same importance can be compared with that of Mr. Cole of the early Italian masters.

The method which Mr. Cole follows in these reproductions will interest their admirers. A photograph is first taken of the picture, on which the engraver makes all the corrections needed for the translation of the values of colors into white and black. This is then copied on the wood block in the following manner: the surface of the block is prepared of an intense black, and on this is laid a sensitive collodion film, such as was used for the once popular ambrotypes or later "tintypes," on which the photograph is copied in the camera so that a positive image is produced, reversed in position, but correct in light and dark, the lights being formed by a deposit of metallic silver and the darks by the black ground. The block is then treated as in the case of a drawing on wood, the lights formed by the silver deposit being cut away, showing in turn the pale tint of the wood under the blackened surface, while the shadows are formed by the undisturbed surface. As the cutting progresses the collodion film is removed by india-rubber,

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OLD ITALIAN MASTERS

CHAPTER I

THE BYZANTINES

THE generally accepted idea that a complete revival of art took place in the schools of Italy about the time of and led by Cimabue is as baseless as some of the scientific theories which date from the same epoch. There has never been any break in the continuity of art development since the early schools of Greece began to differentiate the archaic from the monumental and symbolic forms of sculpture. Art has had its changes and its high and low tides, just as all forms of civilization have had and still have. When the barbarians swept Italy, Byzantium held the traditions, and the statues of Lysippus stood in the public places until they were thrown down by the Venetians to be broken up and made into coin to pay their soldiers. The simplicity and purity of Greek design, which in Italy had given way to the naturalism of portraiture and in Constantinople to a barbarous rudeness of the sculptural element, had had its day and could never have a distinct revival, because it was an art which grew out of a motive which had ceased to exist. The perception of the ideal, *i. e.*, the purely beautiful, as developed in various types, each perhaps referable to some attribute of nature, was possible, in the perfection in which the Greeks possessed it, only in minds whose serene enjoyment of the external world was undisturbed by moral struggles and painful questionings as to the relations of this life with another, such as Christianity introduced,—as it had been impossible with the luxury and sensual degradation which preceded and perhaps led to the conquest of Greece by

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Alexander and the Romans. That state of humanity in which Greek art was possible may be spoken of as the healthy, ripe childhood of the race, when all the faculties have come into happy activity and the presentiments of decay and death have not crossed with their shadows the sunshine of life. But before Christianity came philosophy had begun to make men think gravely of an eternal life, and broken up the careless existence of those children of Apollo and Minerva. Then came Christianity with its terrible menaces and magnificent promises, and its morbid asceticism, making pleasure sin, and all physical beauty a snare. Naturally, under these circumstances, art, where it still was tolerated, was only the instrument of ecclesiastical discipline or the accompaniment of ascetic ecstasies, and became a sort of hieroglyphic writing.

Architecture kept up, almost alone, a normal evolution, and the formal and merely ceremonial worship of the old state gods had not ceased to demand the tribute of the architect when the new state deity came to command a new form of worship. Temples were rededicated to the saints, and the drift of artistic invention set in toward the decoration of the new churches. Mosaic, an invention of the Roman epoch, came in to give a new manner of decoration, and, as always is the case, brought out new forms of design in sympathy with the new material. With this, painting became the inferior method of wall-decoration, true fresco with its breadth and freedom not having been developed.

During this entire period, from the second century after Christ, whose coming coincided approximately with the best period of Græco-Roman art and the complete and final prostration of Greece and the Greek national character, the decline of the nobler forms of plastic art was continuous. The schools of art in the years between Augustus and Hadrian were numerous, and not contemptible as to technical ability; and we have probably many statues preserved from a survival of Greek art whose age can hardly be determined within two or three centuries.

But as Christianity became the official religion of the whole Roman world, and absorbed all the spiritual, and most of the intellectual, energy of society, the most of that class which used to furnish artists, poets, and philosophers drifted away in the direction of the last light. I do not believe that there was any sudden and violent revulsion against paganism, for such sudden movements are not in keeping with history. Changes of system take place slowly.

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Faith and the ideals of art changed by imperceptible degrees, but there resulted a dislocation of the technical traditions of art. Mosaic and wall-painting were not taught in the same workshops, and what was excellent in an Apollo or a Venus was no longer what was best for the sculptures with which the new churches were adorned. As the element of narrative took the place of the element of abstract ideal and perfection of type, the artist most in demand would naturally be the one who had the most vigorous invention and imagination. Symbolism became more and more important; haste and want of the old technical traditions substituted expressive exaggeration of movement for the old refinement of repose; and so we come imperceptibly to the first motives of what we know as Byzantine art. It was most prominent in the decoration of the churches, mosaic and sculpture of the capitals, friezes, etc.; then it came into the decoration of the sacred books, and these are probably the oldest real precursors of the Italian Renaissance. Without attempting to trace the history of Byzantine art, I wish to point to the fact that, while the sculpture of histories drawn mainly from the Bible in capital and relief for the ornament of the churches led to the Pisani, the traditions of painting preserved in pictures,—of which few remain to us, and none of the earlier centuries,—in miniatures, and in illustrations of manuscripts (of which we have some going back to the eighth and ninth centuries) led by legitimate development to the Italian art of the day of Cimabue. The manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries existing in the National Library at Paris, the Vatican at Rome, and the Laurentian of Florence, as well as the mosaics of St. Sophia, Salonica, and Ravenna, show the state of art centuries before the advent of Cimabue, the miniatures of the great libraries coming down to the so-called revival of art. These not only preserve the essential traditions of composition and ideal of the classical school of painting,—of which we get our most distinct idea from Pompeii,—but they employed a large class of workmen in work which all artists must learn to perform and on which all masterly art is founded: men trained to follow the types and execute the conceptions of the time, just as good house-painters and decorators are trained to the execution of decorative work of various kinds, the imitation of woods, graining, etc. They worked by certain rules, and always without direct reference to nature, and thereby acquired great facility of execution and knowledge of the best methods of painting for

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the work they had to do. The enormous number of churches and monasteries constructed from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian shows that an immense number of workmen must have been employed in building, but also that many books must have been needed to supply them all. In these, no doubt, the same luxury of adornment soon obtained as in the architecture. What we have of them is a mere fragment, but the roll of Joshua in the Vatican, and the manuscripts of the National Gallery in Paris, show that, as art, the work of the ninth and tenth centuries was far in advance of that of the age of Cimabue. The devastation of Constantinople by the Crusaders probably dispersed the books of what was, to the Latins, a heretical church, and brought to Italy artists and works of art which refreshed the Italian art of that time, as the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A. D. 1453 led to the Renaissance of literature.

The little gospel of the Laurentian Library, A. D. 586, is admirable in the invention of its numerous illustrations, and far beyond the work of the twelfth century in the knowledge of the human figure. The two examples which Mr. Cole has reproduced are of an invention and naturalness such as no Italian artist of the twelfth century was capable of. The mosaics of Ravenna of the sixth century by Byzantine artists have a decorative effect which was for centuries unknown to Italian art, and in the curve of an arch in the cathedral of Torcello is one remaining design of Byzantine work which, as decoration, in color, in the facility of invention, is beyond all comparison superior to any of the later and more pretentious mosaics of the choir and front wall. These mosaics and many of the illustrations, as well as the capitals of the columns in various churches, St. Mark's at Venice included, show a general knowledge of the resources of art which formed a school in which were trained the specially gifted men whose work we shall have to examine later; as from a well-organized army arise the men who are trained first to obey and then to command—with new ideas, but nothing new in the art. To the technical training and knowledge of methods and the sound subjective system of working, derived in part from the ancient Greeks through Byzantium, and handed down to the Italians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we owe the possibility of Cimabue, Duccio, and Giotto.

As decorative art, nothing that we know surpasses certain Byzantine work from the fifth to the eleventh centuries; but art having

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reached its limit on that side relaxed its efforts, and we shall find the Italian intellect of the age of Dante—doubtless then the first of the entire civilized world—coming to take possession for its own purposes of the artistic faculty and experience preserved by the Byzantine traditions. There is no break in the continuity, for we cannot always distinguish the general work of the contemporaries of Cimabue from that of the hieratic painters of the proper Byzantine school just preceding them. There was a new impulse, intellectual and individual, at this time; that was all.

Byzantine art in its own circle had had a revival, a renaissance, about the eleventh century; but, as applied to the churches, it was like the faith—to a great extent mere formality, with here and there genuine vitality, and always holding the seeds of the future in its organism.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN THE CHURCH OF SAN APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA

FLORENCE, June 18, 1887.—The mosaics in Ravenna are the most surprisingly magnificent things I ever saw. I had an idea I should see something in the way of the things to be seen here in Florence in the Baptistery, but my breath was completely taken away on beholding the stupendous decorations of the church of San Apollinare. They are exceeding airy, light, and delicate in color, and wonderfully subtile in the tints and rich in tone.

RAVENNA, July 3, 1887.—Nothing could excel these beautiful mosaics in delicacy and brilliancy of color; as delicate as a breath, and sparkling like an array of tinted gems. I am seated before the procession of the twenty-two virgins and the magi bearing crowns and gifts to the infant Jesus, who is seated on the Madonna's lap with two angels on each side. One of the virgins is Saint Agnes [see cut, p. 61]. The background is gold, delicately shaded with light and dark brown tints. With my opera-glass I can see the separate stones; but without it, and at a proper distance, the tints blend, and the twinkling, bespangled effect of the whole is very pleasing. The leaves on the palm-trees are light and dark green—a light-green palm between two dark-green ones, and a dark palm between two light-green ones, and so on, all varying in shape and nothing repeated but the idea. Some of the green tints of the palms blend imperceptibly into the brownish tints of the background; from the lower stems hang the cones, brownish red in color, each bunch varying in number and shape, and arranged variously. This is the case with the most trifling detail: everything is arranged with the utmost care and thought toward the composition; and viewed as a composition, it is simply a stupendous work. Each virgin carries a crown; no two are on the same level, but the line is beautifully broken up. The action of each virgin varies, and no two heads are posed alike. Sometimes both hands are draped, and again two

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or three in succession are bare, but in each case the furthermost hand is underneath the drapery; this would be necessary from the action of the white garment. The color of the dark robes is brownish and generally alike in tone, but extremely varied in pattern and arrangement and trimming; the highest lights are gold middle tints, light brownish and dark brown in the folds where it is the darkest. The cool-gray color of the white robes is remarkable, and the light on the folds, as it delicately increases to a higher light and warmer tone, shows that these old fellows had a very subtle sense of color. The flesh-tints are warm and pinkish, shading to a brownish tone. The lower part of the background shades into green, but sometimes the green begins abruptly. These portions are usually filled by various designs of flowers; in the St. Agnes it is a lamb. The color of the trunks of the palm-trees is purplish, as in nature. The tone of the whole is gray, like nature. There is an atmospheric softness enveloping all, but the color is fresh all the same. The green of the background is fresh and clear. I forgot to mention the glories around the heads, which are the same in tone generally as the background, but sometimes they are lighter and again darker, and some sparkle more than others. The dark rim on the outer edge is purple, sometimes approaching a reddish tone; the light rim inside is a soft gray. Sometimes the rims are thicker and sometimes thinner, and the glories are not always of the same size, and not perhaps struck off with a compass, though sometimes it appears so; and then it is pleasant to see a perfect circle. The head is not always placed in the center, but the variety in the whole thing is simply endless; and the grace and dignity and symmetry are very lovely. These mosaics are much superior to anything that I have yet seen; those of Florence and Venice are heavy and dull in color compared with these.

FLORENCE, Aug. 5, 1887.—Very fine is the "Good Shepherd," which I have upon the block, but could not do for want of time; this is earlier by two centuries. It is probably the most complete thing as an illustration of these mosaics in every way considered, but it would have taken far more time to engrave, and for reasons of time only I selected the other. There, for instance, are the exquisitely finished things of the San Apollinare *outside* the city, which are, however, so marvelously brilliant in color as to make me feel that they have been retouched by some cunning fellow, so out of keeping are they with all the surroundings. Certainly those in San Vitale are all gone over, and are glaring and decidedly inferior in color to those of the former church.

See Vol. I. "History of Christian Art," by Lindsay.

THE BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS

FLORENCE, July 30, 1887.—I send you these few notes on the early Byzantine manuscript illuminations [in the Laurentian Library]. The manuscript is of the tenth century, entitled *Plutio* 6, *Codice* 23. If any one wants to consult it he can make a note of the title, for that is necessary for the librarian to know. How wonderfully fresh is the coloring! I can scarcely believe that I am looking into a book that is nearly a thousand years old. Some of the illuminations are so clean and fresh that they seem but lately done—not the slightest taint of yellowness, unless it be in the parchment itself, and what touches of white there are have remained as pure as though put on but yesterday. The fineness of the detail can

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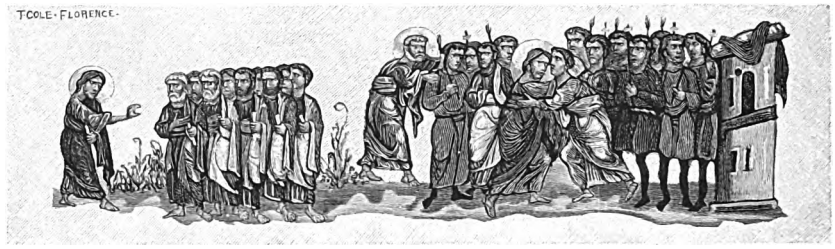
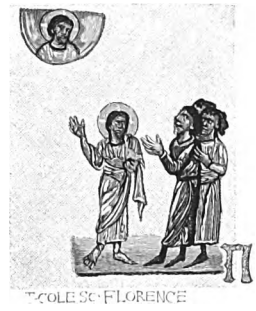


THE BETRAYAL.



THE VISION.

THE PASSION.

BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATIONS.

FROM PLUTIO 6, CODICE 23, IN THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY, FLORENCE.

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only be thoroughly appreciated under a magnifying-glass,—as in the feet with their sandals and straps, and in the expressions of the faces and hands; the hatchings of gold on the garments and the shrubbery are as delicate as a cobweb. The glories are of gold also. The delicate hatchings of gold are not visible until the light catches the page slantingly, when they shine out in the glories with surprising luster. It was impossible for me to do anything like justice to these wonderfully delicate things in engraving, and my proofs of them are but lifeless things at best. The gold hatchings I could only suggest by the finest possible white lines; but then these mingle up and are lost with the whites in the high lights of the folds. And then the various colors of the garments, green, blue, yellow, red, etc., are all lost in black and white, and the marvelous delicacy of the detail could by no means be approached in wood-engraving. You will see these same gold hatchings in the works of Cimabue and Duccio; while the distinction between the apostles and the heretics in the Byzantine, given in the uncovered feet and legs of the former opposed to the black legs of the latter, is alike characteristic of Duccio, as well as the grouping of the figures. Each illumination is designed to tell several progressive stages in the story — as, for instance, in the one I have called "The Passion," the first group is illustrative of the passage, "They went out into the Mount of Olives" (the Mount is indicated behind Jesus). "Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night." Peter answers, "Although all shall be offended, yet will not I." Peter is seen bending forward from the group. In the second group the story is continued, and he leaves the disciples and goes aside to pray. The third part, to the right of the tower, shows him in the garden praying; a ray from heaven is descending upon him. The fourth group would seem to tell the moment when he exclaims, "Behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners." In the other block is seen the moment of the betrayal, the unbelievers being distinguished by their black legs. Peter is shown cutting off the ear of the servant of the high priest. These illuminations are distinguished by great certainty of touch. Those in the first half of the book are much superior to those in the latter half. The initial piece that I have called "The Vision" is from the latter half.

T. C.

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Chapter II

CIMABUE

The early history of any phase or epoch of art is always mingled, to a certain extent, with the mythical; and its legends, which are the foundation of all artistic celebrity, grow until some definite historical authority fixes them, not always in their true relation to fact, but where it found them. These legends are generally based on the achievements that seemed to the people most marvelous, because the legend is always born of popular admiration and imagination; and as a necessary consequence they record the triumphs that strike the common mind, uneducated in art. Fortune, maybe, has favored Zeuxis and Apelles by having left them the fame accorded by their primitive critics and destroyed all works by which we might have checked it. The taste even of an educated public is only equal to the art it has been trained on, and is, therefore, always behind the best of the day; so that any advance from that is sufficient to excite its enthusiasm, and much more so that of the masses; and the greatest impressibility, and hence the most uncontrolled enthusiasm, accompany invariably the lower state of education in art. The popular triumphs, the processions of admiration, and all the elements which make the legends of early art, are not material enough for the determination of the rank of an artist. What the ignorant wonder at is what a trained taste generally despises; and while it is possible that the development of the art of painting under Zeuxis was worthy of the sculpture of the period, we have no indication of the fact; but, on the contrary, the legends preserved to us indicate that his great recorded successes were those of a very low technical development. To understand this, one has only to note the extravagant admiration

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which certain very crude efforts of the itinerant portrait-painter excite to-day in rural circles, and even among comparatively educated people with no sound art-training.

With Cimabue we touch the middle ground, where the legendary can be to a slight extent put to proof; and we find, as usual, that what the popular taste fancied worthy of the most unrestrained exaltation — his presumed fidelity to nature — is an illusion, and that his great virtues — the extreme, and perhaps immediately before him unexampled, devotion to, and sincerity in, the technical treatment of his subjects — were never noted by the legend-makers as part of his endowments.

It is doubtful if there has ever been any sudden great advance in art. Accident, perhaps oftener than transcendent merit, has led to certain men being made the personification of the art of their day, while as good or better men have lapsed into oblivion; and this to a certain extent has served the fame of Cimabue.

We, looking at art from the modern and scientific point of view, translate the reputation which Cimabue got in his own day, of bringing art back to nature, as implying that he was, in our sense of the word, an imitator of nature as compared with his predecessors. To understand his real merits this reputation must be utterly demolished, for it puts him in a false light. Neither he nor his contemporaries or immediate successors ever studied nature in the sense of making direct use of a model or natural object. Their art was traditional, set about by rules both technical and theological, which left the field for distinction mainly in a better and more complete technique, minuter and more facile execution, etc., which probably Cimabue acquired to the extent of an important advance on his masters. But to estimate rightly this phase of Italian art one must recognize the wide difference between Cimabue's education and that which is the object of art schools nowadays. Sacred subjects alone were admissible, and these were treated according to set rules, as they still are in the Byzantine schools of Mount Athos; only certain poses were permitted to certain subjects, and the types, methods, colors, and compositions were rigidly determined. This education Cimabue conformed to, and in realization, which to us is the meaning of "natural," his pictures had no more to boast of than those of his predecessors and his contemporaries. We have seen, and shall have further evidence, that Cimabue was part of a general quickening of art, and that the revival of painting with which he is

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identified was one that far outreached his career, retrospectively and prospectively, and was, in fact, the slow reanimation of the hieratic and prescriptive types carried on for generations, and not invented or developed by one mind — Byzantine art, in fact, roused from its lethargy and made progressive by many painters under the influence of the general intellectual awakening of Italy, beginning just before Dante and continuing until the sixteenth century. This awakening was more complete in the active Tuscan brain, stimulated by commercial prosperity and civic independence and possibly by the constant contest for liberty, than in other parts of Italy.

There is a curious parallel to this in the change wrought on Greek sculpture when the archaic, traditional types were carried from the Peloponnesus into the Attic atmosphere and ripened there into the perfected ideal art. And the analogy goes further in the decline of both schools from the ideal to the naturalistic. In the antecedents of the two great revivals the preparation was the same —technical training, mastery of handicrafts, bronze-casting, marble-cutting, and wood-carving in the one, and in the other the processes of tempera and wall-painting; facility of execution being acquired, as it can only be acquired in the greatest excellence, by following and completing the conventional ideals by the aid of more perfect knowledge. Painters and mosaicists of the Byzantine school had been for some time, perhaps for several centuries, at work in Florence, as we know that at Ravenna and Venice they had been at work as early as the eighth century.

To one of these painters Giovanni Cimabue was apprenticed, after the fashion of the time, as he would have been to any other trade. He had been judged to be a clever boy and worthy to be educated, in a time when only the clever boys were considered worth the trouble and expense of education, and was sent to the convent of Santa Maria Novella to be taught letters. In place of attending to his grammar, he passed his time, like many a schoolboy since, in drawing in his books and on other blank spaces "men, horses, houses, and all kinds of fantastic things," which talent, considering that all books were in manuscript and of greater value than our "first readers," and that Solomon was regarded in those days as the head of magisterial wisdom, was most probably recompensed primarily by the rod. But the lad had his own way, for "certain Greek painters," *i. e.*, painters in the Byzantine manner, being called to Florence for public works, Giovanni played the truant to see

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them at their painting, and passed entire days there. The enthusiasm of the boy leading his father and the Greek masters to judge well of his chance of having an "honorable success" as a painter, as Vasari puts it, he was, to his great delight, sent to them to learn the business properly.

Milanesi, in his commentary on Vasari's life of Cimabue, attempts to discredit the attribution of Cimabue's masters to the Byzantine school; but his contention is illogical and short-sighted, for not only was the only authoritative school of painting at that time the Byzantine, and all contemporary work, including that of Cimabue himself, tinged with the typical Byzantine traits, but the methods employed in painting, the general treatment, the use of golden backgrounds, and the type of face of the Madonna, with its almond-shaped eyes, borrowed from some Eastern ideal, were distinctly characteristic of that school.[1] There is no doubt that, as Milanesi contends, there were Italian painters before Cimabue; but, as Professor Richmond points out in his lectures,[2] the masterhood of all art of those days belonged to the school of Constantinople, then the great Christian empire and the head of civilization, regarding all western Europe as still barbarian and in the darkness of heresy.

That Cimabue was not alone in excellence, and is therefore unjustly regarded as the restorer of art, is, indeed, now generally recognized; and it is probable that his traditional supremacy, which has come down to us, is due rather to the fact that Florence was the literary center of Italy at that time than that his work was so much better than any other. As between the two, I prefer the works of Duccio of Siena, though to the casual observer they seem hardly to be separated as the work of different schools; and the strong similitudes, the elements common to both, and the uniform technical methods are proof even stronger than tradition of a community of origin in the Byzantine school.

It was only when he went to Assisi that, still working under his Greek masters, he began to separate himself from them; for "in these pictures he surpassed greatly the Greek painters;

1 Vasari and Lanzi declare him to have been the pupil of Greek artists, and we know that Greek artists worked then at the Baptistery. Richmond says: "Whether Cimabue was directly a pupil of Greek artists or not is a question of some doubt; but indirectly evidence tends to show that the Greek art of the thirteenth century was far in advance of any Italian art. Consequently the possibility is that Cimabue went for instruction to those artists most highly esteemed. It is, however, perfectly evident that the artistic laws upon which Cimabue founded himself, or was founded, were Greek and not Italian."

2 Lectures at Oxford — Stack foundation.

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whence taking courage, he began to paint for himself in the church above." (Vasari.) Certainly from this we have a clear right to conclude that up to this time he had not distinguished his manner or treatment of subject from the pure Byzantine; but that, working under the Greek painters, he had come to paint better than they. The way in which the marvelous helped his reputation is shown by the influence on it, even to our own day, of the triumphal procession of his masterpiece, the Madonna of Santa Maria Novella, from his studio to the church, which legend, and Dante's

> Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo,

have given more color to his position as the restorer of art than anything we can now discover of the qualities of his work, and doubtless are in great part responsible for his preëminence in tradition over all his contemporaries. And it is not unlike the spirit of our own time that something was added when royalty in the person of Charles of Anjou was brought to see the picture in the painter's house, and "all the men and all the women of Florence gathered there, with the greatest festivities and the greatest crowd in the world; whence, for the rejoicing which the neighbors had, that place was called Borgo Allegri [the joyous suburb], which, with time inclosed in the city wall, has always since retained the name"; the festivities and the glorification being as much on account of the king as of Cimabue.

The painter of those days, it must be understood, was simply of a superior class of workmen in whom excellence of workmanship was the chief claim to distinction. He probably was paid, according to the magnitude of his work, with an extra allowance for gold for his background; and we see still in Cimabue's Madonna that the work was to a great extent such as required merely mechanical dexterity and honest patience. The freedom of action —comparative, however—of the child Jesus, which seems the chief variant from the orthodox Byzantine type, appears also in Duccio; and reasoning from analogy and the slight remains of previous art, I am, I think, enabled to understand the preceding art from which the revival took its new departure. Its productions were very closely alike in design, the composition and type of figure and attributes not materially varying, and following, in more

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or less dexterous execution, ancient types, with color reverentially reproducing, as in our emulation of old masters to-day, the venerable and sacred dinginess of time. The art element had gone out, and pictures were merely a kind of church furniture, more sacred according to age, apparent as well as real.

Probably in the revival religion also awoke a little; and the child Jesus being the object most human and nearest the feeling of the revivalists, the first movement was in the attempt to make him real, more like the children they knew. Then the Tuscan energy of character, always less reverent than the Greek, revolted against the unnatural blackness of the conventional palette, and, delighting in vivid colors, attempted to substitute the brilliancy of the costume of the day. In addition to this general tribute to popular feeling we know that the picture which marks the high tide of Cimabue's glory was the largest which had ever been attempted (on panel, it is to be understood); and this in itself was to the people reason enough, as it is sometimes even yet, to mark him as the greatest painter of the day. Beyond this it is not evident that Cimabue could have gone, and in this he did not go alone. We find in his pictures and those of all his contemporaries the traditional type of Madonna—long-eyed, ill-proportioned, the preternaturally long fingers, the conventional attitudes, the drapery as stiff and as methodically and even mechanically[1] ornamented as the Byzantine.

The modern conception of art, in either the dramatic or the esthetic aspects, was clearly not given to the revivalists. They displayed more minuteness, a more vivid color, a larger scale of work, and therefore a more competent workmanship, but always the same aims and the same elements. These they may have had, as compared with the Byzantines, simply as freer and more energetic men, and less respectful to tradition and prescription. And even this advance must be understood as revival rather than discovery, and as contrasted with contemporary Byzantine work, as the Florentines saw it in San Giovanni and elsewhere; but it was still only comparative restoration, as we found in studying the Byzantines, especially in their mosaics.

That Cimabue was, more than his contemporaries, difficult

[1] Most of the detail of decoration at this time was done by a kind of stamp or punch, giving great decorative effect without any exercise of the artistic powers, and analogous to our modern ornament in cast-iron.

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with himself in his work, we may judge from the commentator of Dante, quoted by Vasari:

> Cimabue of Florence was a painter of the time of the author [Dante], greater than men knew [before]; and, beside, was so arrogant and scornful, that if anyone pointed out any defect in his work, or, if he himself saw it, he immediately threw it up, however valuable it might be.

We do not now attach the same meaning to "arrogant" and "scornful" that the commentator did; but that is only one of the changes which time has produced in our standards of men and qualities, and the epithet "greater" as here employed is probably due to the scale of his work. In judging of Cimabue's art and relative position we must not only make allowance for the material obscuration by time, which perhaps tells against him, but of that comparative recession, time's perspective, by which the new-comer pushes the elder into the background, as Dante even then put it:

> Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
> Sì che la fama di colui è oscura.

And this sometimes increases the grandeur of the remote and indefinable. Then he was the countryman of Dante and master of Giotto, circumstances which unite with those I have noted to explain his exceptional position. As master of Giotto we have generally, I think, given him credit for Giotto's art, which is not justifiable; for Giotto was not merely a reviver — he was an inventor.

So that, taking all things into consideration, I believe that we are perfectly justified in considering Cimabue to have been overrated from his own day down; that he was simply the ablest painter of his day in Florence, and that his fortune in being the master of Giotto is his greatest claim to our gratitude.

Italian writers, from Vasari down, have tried so to detach him from the Byzantine system that he shall appear as the first great Italian painter; and they have held the field for want of advocates of the other view. Vasari says that the angels around Cimabue's Madonna showed that "while he had still the Greek manner, he approached in some respects the features and method of the modern"; and Richmond, in his Oxford lectures on the early Italian painters, says:

> He [Cimabue] inherited from the Greek severity of design, a grand manner, notwithstanding occasional defects of proportion; the main point of his inheritance

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being the perfect understanding of the manner proper to wall decoration in mosaic, and directness in telling his story. Up to the time of Cimabue, mosaic had been chiefly used by the Greek artists in church decoration, and this art was by them perfectly understood, both as regards its requirements and its limitations. Cimabue added many graces to decorative art, but at the same time he clung to the proper maxims inculcated by Greek artists, which no time or alteration in the method of manner or production can change for the better.

Vasari knew perhaps less of Byzantine work than we now know, and besides this he is, from his recklessness of statement and carelessness in accepting tradition without examination, a questionable witness, though the one on whom, unfortunately, most of our modern views of early art rest.

The Madonna of the Rucellai Chapel is still one of the chief objects of pilgrimage of lovers of art who go to Italy; and it is still hanging, dingy, and veiled by the dust of centuries, in the unimposing, almost shabby chapel of Santa Maria Novella, probably where Dante saw it, its panel scarred by nails which have been driven to put the *ex votos* on, split its whole length by time's seasoning, and scaled in patches, the white *gesso* ground showing through the color — so obscured by time that one hardly can see that the Madonna's robe was the canonical blue, the sad mother's face looking out from under the hood, and the pathetic Christ-child blessing the adoring angel at the side. Like all the work of its time, it has a pathos which neither the greater power of modern art nor the enervate elaborateness of modern purism can ever attain. Something in it, by an inexplicable magnetism, tells of the profound devotion, the unhesitating worship, of the religious painter of that day; of faith and prayer, devotion and worship, forever gone out of art. And the aroma of centuries of prayer and trust still gives it, to me, a charm beyond that of art — the sacredness which lingers in the eyes which have looked into the sorrows and aspirations of the thousands of unhappy ones who in the past have laid their hearts before the Madonna of the Borgo Allegri.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE Madonna and Child No. 12, formerly 23, of the Belle Arti, Florence, there under the name of Cimabue, cannot be attributed to that master, as can be shown by comparison with his authenticated works. It was among the first that I did when I tumbled fresh into Florence, and as it hung in a pretty good light, sufficiently strong to admit of my engraving it before the original (which

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unfortunately is not the case with the fine works of Cimabue), I thought it might answer as an illustration of the master; but I was quickly undeceived in this when I showed my finished work to Mr. C. F. Murray, an artist skilled in the old masters, and who was then returned from London. So upon his suggestion I began the detail of the Cimabue of Santa Maria Novella, which of course I could not do before the original, since the chapel in which it is situated is too dark; so I managed it by means of careful notes. And as my quarters were right near the church, I had abundant opportunity to become thoroughly imbued with the original, finding out the particular hour of the day when the light was the best.

On comparing the Madonna No. 12 of the Belle Arti with this one in Santa Maria Novella, the first thing that strikes one is the grand and solemn character of the latter, which is an unfailing quality in all of Cimabue's undoubted works. Cimabue's drawing is always clean, delicate, and decided; his ornamentation, with the gold hatchings of the draperies and high lights, in the flat and conventional Byzantine manner. His fingers are long and the nails neatly drawn in: compare the hands of the two examples. In his faces the nostrils are always firmly and beautifully turned; and along the upper part of the bridge of the nose, where it joins the eyebrows, he makes a ridge of light, sometimes on either side of the nose, and very marked at times. The same is characteristic of the Byzantines. Compare the ear of the Child of the Santa Maria Novella Madonna with the same in the Madonna No. 12 of the Belle Arti. Other marked differences will be noticed upon careful consideration. In Room III. of the Belle Arti, in the farthermost and darkest corner, there is a large Madonna enthroned, by the same master, with angels surrounding it, and four prophets underneath. The fine, energetic, and imaginative quality of the angel's heads forms a good example of Cimabue's power.

FLORENCE, July 30, 1887.— It should be known that the best time for seeing the Cimabue here is between 5 and 6 P. M. of a sunny day in summer, and in winter an hour or so earlier. At that time the sun shines through the windows of the Strozzi Chapel, directly opposite, with such force as to light up the picture admirably, and only then can the fineness of its details be seen. Many visitors coming in the morning to see the picture quit the place summarily, disappointed, and declaring the place too dark for anything. This subject is situated in the Rucellai Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella. Entering the church from the piazza, you walk straight up toward the high altar, and on your right is the chapel, and the Cimabue facing you over the altar as you enter the chapel from the steps leading up to it. The shape of the picture is oblong, with a cornice-shaped top. In size it is 14¾ feet high from bottom to apex; upright sides, 11½ feet; width, 9⅔ feet.

In a grand chair or throne, over the back of which is stretched a figured drapery, is seated the Madonna, with the infant Jesus on her knee, his arm outstretched in solemn attitude of benediction. Upon each side of the chair kneel three angels in adoration, one over the other. The glories around the heads, and the background, are gold-gilded and ornamented, the ornamentation being engraved in the flat surface.

On the frame surrounding the whole of the picture are painted thirty medallions of heads of the prophets, apostles, and saints; each medallion being five inches in diameter, and at a distance of a foot apart. The whole is painted on

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wood, as is usual with all these early works, unless they are frescos.

The delicacy and cleanness of the engraved work in the glories of these early works used to be a matter of surprise and wonderment to me, as I supposed they were engraved in the wood and then gilded over; and being curious as to how it was done, and with what sort of tools, I carefully examined every glory I came across, until I happened upon one from which the gilding was partly rubbed off, and it revealed a ground of plaster of Paris. In this material I found that it was quite easy to engrave, after the manner of these glories, with any dull-pointed steel instrument, held in the hand as a pencil; the solidity of lines close together, however, being dependent upon the angle at which the tool is held giving a greater bevel to one side of the line. This kind of work is brought to its highest perfection in the glories of Fra Angelico, especially in that exquisite subject here in the Uffizi, the "Coronation of the Virgin," the gold background of which is engraved with fine lines radiating from the center, the gilded effect of which produces rays of light that are movable according to the position of the spectator.

But to return to the Cimabue. Like all these early works it is painted in tempera upon wood, the surface of the wood being previously prepared with a thin ground of *gesso* or plaster of Paris. In technique it is precise and delicate, the details being worked out with the utmost care. In order thoroughly to appreciate the work it is necessary to get as near to it as possible, and this is done by asking any one of the guardians, who are always about, for permission to ascend the altar, which is readily granted. A set of portable steps is always kept in one corner of the chapel; you place the steps against the altar, and having ascended to it, you then lift the steps up after you; and having placed them securely upon the altar, you can ascend still farther. You are then in a position to inspect the detail of the drapery that is stretched upon the chair back of the Madonna. It must have been very beautiful when newly painted, for even now it is rich and full in variety of color and exquisite in finish, though softened by age and requiring a close inspection to discover its beauty. It hangs in folds, though all the patterns are drawn flatly, without respect to the modifications they would undergo in the foreshortening of the folds; the folds are merely painted over them. The Child's dress is illuminated in the Byzantine method of gold hatchings or markings carried in the direction of the folds; the color of the garment is pinkish brown. The lighter undergarment is a grayish yellow, the flesh-tints being deeper and more neutral than this latter color. The robe of the Madonna is a dark blue, edged with an ornamental border of gold. The chair is illuminated with markings of gold for the high lights on the many ornamental carvings, flowers, etc., and the feathers in the wings of the angels are all drawn in carefully, with these same gold markings upon a plain brownish ground, as delicate and clean as though done with a pen. The garments of the angels are of light, delicate hues of blue and pink, green and purple, purple and blue, and pink and green. They have gold ornamental bands on their shoulders, and the same through their hair, which is of a nut-brown color and hangs in curls and ringlets, but smooth over their foreheads, generally, with the exception, sometimes, of a few delicate ringlets, falling over. Their expression is sweet and serious; that of the Madonna is retiring, sad, and thoughtful; while the Child is grave beyond his years. The whole, no doubt, was painted in a very light key, for after six centuries of smoke and incense it is

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yet clear when looked into. It is a grand, impressive work of art, and whoever gives it a little attention must begin to feel its influence.

P. S. I might have added that the tints throughout are of the smoothest possible gradations, no brush-marks being visible unless they be of the faintest possible and most delicate pencilings, as though a small brush were used; and this is characteristic of all these early works.

FLORENCE, August 10, 1888.— For the Cimabue of Santa Maria Novella, see "History of Christian Art," by Lord Lindsay, Vol. I., p. 344, who says of it: "It has a character of its own, and, once seen, stands out from the crowd of Madonnas, individual and distinct. The type is still the Byzantine, intellectualized perhaps, yet neither beautiful nor graceful; but there is a dignity and a majesty in her mien, and an expression of inward ponderings and sad anticipation rising from her heart to her eyes as they meet yours, which one cannot forget. The Child, too, blessing with his right hand, is full of the deity, and the first object in the picture, a propriety seldom lost sight of by the elder Christian painters." For the Cimabue No. 12, formerly 23, of the Belle Arti, see "History of Painting in Italy," by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Vol. I., p. 314, note. Also, as an aid to the critical study of the Italian painters, the work of Sig. Giovanni Morelli might be recommended with much profit to the student, viz.: "Italian Masters in German Galleries," translated from the German by Mrs. Louise M. Richter (London, George Bell & Sons). Also that of Marchese Visconti-Venosta: "Una Nuova Critica dell' Antica Pittura Italiana."

T. C.

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CHAPTER III

DUCCIO

(Born about 1260, died about 1340[1])

THE history of one of the best painters of the beginning of the Italian renaissance is almost limited to the evidence in his works. Who his master was is conjectural; but that he belonged to a vigorous school, of which he was, as was Cimabue of the Florentine, a progressive pupil, is clear. We have the same tradition of his Madonna being carried in triumphal procession to the Duomo from the painter's workshop (*bottega*); we have his name in contracts, and know something of the conditions of his working; but of the work itself we have only one panel of settled authenticity—the Madonna which was carried to the Duomo with honor,[2] and one other, accepted as his by the most authoritative opinions and now in the National Gallery at London. But the "Documents for the History of Sienese Art" of Milanesi disclose a state of the arts at Siena of which we have no evidence in Florence; for while in the latter place the Byzantine painters were succeeded practically by Giotto, only the few pupils of Cimabue intervening in the record, and no such organization appearing as we find at Siena, we have the written constitution of a guild of painters dated only a few years after Duccio's death, showing that art was probably more earnestly cultivated and patronized in the latter than in the former city.[3] The crown of Siena's civic pros-

1 I think Duccio must have died before 1340. I even doubt if he was alive in 1320 when he is said to have been named in a document. The document has never been printed so far as I know, only vaguely cited. C. F. MURRAY.

2 In saying that the Cathedral altarpiece at Siena is almost Duccio's only authentic work, you of course mean authenticated by documentary evidence. I should say that there are three in the Sienese Academy satisfactory enough, three in the National Gallery of London, and one in the hospital at Siena. C. F. MURRAY.

3 I hardly think the fact of the painters' guild having been formed at Siena a few years earlier than at Florence is sufficient proof that there was greater artistic activity at Siena. C. F. MURRAY.

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perity antedates that of her great Tuscan rival and ultimate conqueror, and in the days of which we are now examining the record Florence was in the humiliation and exhaustion of the greatest defeat of her history.

There is a constitution of the "Art of Sienese Painters" of the date of 1355, which is evidently the codification of the laws under which the school had worked and grown up, and which, as a picture of the spirit of the art of that day, is worth translating. It opens with a solemn invocation:

> In the beginning, in the midst, and in the end of doing and saying our order is in the name of the omnipotent God and of his Virgin Mother our Lady Saint Mary. Amen.
>
> Therefore we are, by the grace of God, shewers to common men, who are ignorant of letters, of the miraculous things done by virtue and virtue of the holy faith; and our faith is chiefly founded in worshiping and believing in one God in Trinity and in God and [his] infinite power and infinite wisdom and infinite love and mercy; and no thing, however little, can have beginning or end without these three things; viz., without power and without knowledge and without will with love. And because in God is the sum of all perfection, therefore, in this our however small business, in order that we may have a certain inspiration of good beginning and good end in all our sayings and doings, with great desire we call for the aid of the Divine grace, and we begin our invocation with honor of, and in the name of, the most Holy Trinity. And because spiritual things ought to be, and are, excellently before and preciously above temporal, we begin by declaring how we celebrate our feast of the venerable and glorious master Saint Luke, who was not only the designer [*figuratore*] of the stature and mien of the glorious Virgin Mary, but was writer of her most holy life and of her most holy customs, whence is our art honored.

Then follow the laws of the guild, beginning with the ordinance for the observance of the Feast of St. Luke and of the mutual obligation of the members and their rights and duties. One runs thus:

> And we order that no one of the art of painters shall dare or presume to put in the work which he may do other gold, or silver, or color than that which he shall have promised: as, for instance, gold half fine for fine, tin for silver, German blue for ultramarine blue, biadetto or indigo for blue, terra rosa or red lead for vermilion; and who contravenes in the said matters shall be punished and condemned ten pounds for every offense.

Every member was held to rigid obedience to the rector, and the laws relating to good faith and honest dealing with each other and with customers were most stringent. The secrets of the guild were kept, under severe penalties. It was in this guild that Duccio learned his trade.

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In 1308 was executed the agreement between Duccio and Jacopo of Siena, son of Gilberto Mariscotti, head-master of the Duomo, for the painting of the picture still there. Jacopo of one part, and Duccio, son of the late Buoninsegna, of the other, agree as follows:

That the said Duccio shall accept from the said master, for painting, a certain picture [panel] to be put on the high altar of the greater church of Saint Mary of Siena. . . . First, that said Duccio promises and agrees with said master Jacopo, etc., to paint and execute said picture to the best of his knowledge and ability and as God may permit him, and to work continuously on said picture such time as he may be able to work on the same, and not to accept or receive any other work to be done until this picture shall be completed and made. But said Jacopo promises to give and pay said Duccio for his salary at said work and labor [*operis et laborerii*] sixteen soldi of Sienese money for each day which said Duccio may work with his hands on the said picture, except that if he should lose any day there shall be deducted from the said salary according to the time lost; that said master holds and promises to give said Duccio this salary in this manner: for each month which said Duccio may work on said picture to give said Duccio ten pounds in current silver money and the remainder of said salary to be counted in silver money, which the same Duccio is held to give to the work of St. Mary above mentioned. *Item.*—The said master workman promises in the above-mentioned name to furnish and give all things which may be necessary for working on said picture, so that said Duccio shall be obliged to give nothing except himself and his labor.

The agreement goes on to prescribe the penalties for failure to observe all its conditions; and in addition Duccio, for greater security, "swore voluntarily on the holy Gospel of God, touching the book bodily, to observe and comply with all and singular in good faith and without fraud in and for all things as above contained."

The picture — or rather pictures, for it includes a Madonna and Child on one side of the panel and on the other a series of small designs from the life of Christ—occupied, according to the chroniclers, three years, and cost over 3000 golden florins; but as the contract was signed on October 9, 1308, and the picture was carried to the Duomo June 9, 1310, it is difficult to see on what evidence they assign this period, as the dates definitely stated make an interval of 20 months. The *festa* of the transportation to the Duomo from the workshop of Duccio was memorable. The Sienese chronicler Tura del Grasso says that it "was the most beauful picture ever seen or made, and cost more than three thousand golden florins." Another, Bondene, says Duccio painted this picture in three years, and every day "made festa," — all festas begin with worship, hence our term "holiday" and the Italian *festa* (from

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Latin *fasta*, sacred or fortunate); and this allusion to Duccio's festas evidently means that he began every day with worship,—and Sundays he went "in great devotion [with great ceremony] to the Duomo," his ordinary daily devotions being probably performed in the Chapel of St. Luke.

An anonymous manuscript in the library of Siena, quoted by Milanesi, has the following account of the picture:

> And in the same time and by the aforesaid Signiory it was provided to make the picture of the high altar, and that which now stands on the altar of St. Boniface, which is called the Madonna of the big eyes and Madonna of thanks [*delle grazie*], was taken away. Now this Madonna was that which was vowed by the people of Siena when the Florentines were broken and defeated at Monte Aperto; and in this manner was changed the said picture, because the new one was made which is much more beautiful and devout and larger, and has at the back the Old and New Testament. And in the day that it was carried to the Duomo the shops were shut and the Bishop ordered a great and devout company of priests and friars with a solemn procession, accompanied by the Signiory of nine and all the functionaries of the Commune and all the people; and hand in hand all the most notable were near the picture with lighted candles in their hands, and then came the women and children with great devotion and accompanied the said picture as far as the Duomo, making the procession around the church, as is the custom, ringing the bell with full peals with reverence for so noble a picture as is this. The picture is by Duccio, son of Niccola, painter (he was son of Buoninsegna), and was made in the house of Muciatti outside the gate of Stalloregi. And all those days he went to prayers with much alms to the poor, praying God and his Mother, who is our Advocate, to defend us by his infinite pity from every disaster and evil and protect us from the hands of traitors and enemies of Siena.

Another contract shows that Duccio was to be paid two and a half florins in gold for each of the little pictures at the back of the great Madonna, thirty-eight in number. But in 1285 a contract had been made between Duccio and the rectors for the brotherhood of St. Mary of Florence providing for a picture for this chapel in Santa Maria Novella, the conditions of which contract are such as to indicate that he was then yet on trial, as might well be the case, he being probably not above twenty-five years of age.[1] These conditions are that the painter is "to paint and ornament said picture with the figure of the blessed Virgin Mary and her omnipotent Son, and other figures at the will and pleasure of the society, and to gild and do all and singular other things which appertain to the beauty of said picture at his own charge and expense"; and that if

[1] You assume that the painter was only 25 in 1285 — it seems to me probable that he was older. Remember what Cennini says of the time required to learn the art. C. F. MURRAY.

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the picture shall satisfy the society the painter shall receive one hundred and fifty little florins of gold, and if not "beautiful and elaborate to their pleasure" Duccio is to keep the picture himself. This testimony to his reputation in the city of Cimabue and at so early a period in his life, while it does not in the conditions of the contract determine that he was a proved workman in the eyes of the Florentines, is sufficient evidence that his fame, even in those days, was that of a rival of the master of Giotto. The picture painted for Santa Maria Novella is lost, but appears to have satisfied the brotherhood. That in Siena, while prescribing the general character of the Byzantine type so far as the Madonna and Child are concerned, has in the heads of the angels surrounding her a perception of the ideal which is more allied to antique art than anything else I know of in that epoch, and reminds one of the work of Niccola Pisano, whose influence Duccio must have felt strongly, as Niccola came to Siena in 1266 to 1268, when Duccio was still a boy—if born, as is conjectured, about 1260.

Of his death, as of his birth, we know nothing. He appears for the first time in authentic record in his contract for Santa Maria Novella, and last in a notice of some work done in 1320. The color of his great Madonna is akin to that of the works of the Florentine contemporary school, and shows clearly that a common canon had been the foundation of both schools; and if the remains justify a comparison I should say that the work of Duccio shows more originality of design in his story pictures. But we must remember that for the Madonna and the more important sacred personages the fixed sacred types were imperative, and that less of Duccio's greatness would be seen in such subjects than in those in which precedent was less rigorous, as in the Scripture stories at the back of the panel.

I have little hesitation indeed in saying that in most of the qualities by which Giotto has attained the position assigned him as a renovator of art Duccio rivaled him, and possibly surpassed him in some. How far the subsequent domination of Florence resulted in the neglect or destruction of the works of the masters of the great rival school of Siena we can only conjecture; of the fact that little remains of its early masters we are unfortunately only too sure. Did we possess as full a representation of the work of Duccio as we do of that of Giotto, we might be compelled to give "the cry" to the former. The twenty-six small pictures in the

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Siena panel have the dramatic power of Giotto with a grave tenderness of expression which is seen in but few of the Florentine painter's pictures, and one of Mr. Cole's selections — the Marys at the tomb — was a classic in the later days, serving as type of the treatment of the subject.

There is nothing to show that in his extraordinary understanding of perspective Giotto was not alone, nor can we find the evidence in what we have of Duccio's work of such amazing intellectual range and power as Giotto's. In perspective the Florentine seems to have had an inspiration, for in his time the science of perspective had no development such as we find in his works; his feeling for it and accuracy in it are, apparently, exceptional. Duccio does not show them: see, for instance, the feet of St. Thomas in the engraving, the nearer foot being that which should be the farther; a fault that no student of the figure in his first year could commit to-day. In the position of Christ in the same picture note the manner in which he is shown to be suspended in the air, the recess being made for the sake of the step, against the perpendicular side of which we see Christ's feet.

We owe to Charles Fairfax Murray, the English painter and connoisseur, the removal of the Duccios from the cathedral, where a satisfactory sight of them was impossible, to the museum of the Opera, where they can be perfectly well seen and studied.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

FLORENCE, September 13, 1887.— I should like to write particularly of the artist Duccio, or rather of his work, which has really fascinated me and held me in thraldom for the past few months. His marvelous subtilties are now discoverable, since he has emerged from his long obscurity in the Duomo to the excellent light of the Opera del Duomo. When away from Duccio I have wondered whether the high qualities that I was attributing to him were not a little of my own making, and this thought added gusto to my next visit. But he cannot be praised too highly, and in fact each time that I come away from him it is with a sublimer idea of the man. He is strength and ineffable tenderness artlessly combined, but he must be seen and studied to be believed in. No artist should be without photographs of his works; and here let me add that Lombardi, the photographer of Siena, has offered to do the whole series, thirty-eight in number, for one hundred dollars, and to give three copies of each subject. They have never been photographed directly from the originals, but from tracings of them made by some bungler. These existing photographs are worse than useless: perhaps, since the pictures were hanging in the dark, it was impossible to do them better.

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THE THREE MARYS

THE subject is the twenty-fourth section of the large panel, and tells of the resurrection of Christ and of the particular moment where the angel says to the woman, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay" (Matt. xxviii. 6). The figures in all the series measure about nine inches high. The outlines of the compositions were sketched in the *gesso* ground with a point, but in the painting in of the subjects these outlines are often diverged from slightly in particular points, as around the hands and faces—modifications of the drawing; so photographs, which always give these original outlines, because of the light catching on one side or the other of the incisions, are often deceptive as to the true outlines.

The colors are lively and transparent, and the skies and glories are gold. The whole is softened and enriched by time, and, save for the innumerable fine cracks in the surface and occasional worm-holes, all is in good preservation. In the reproduction of these early men I discard all scratches, cracks, worn places, and peelings, as the attention is not particularly attracted by such defects when not affecting the expression of any particular part; but should it be a face, for instance, that was so defaced, I should by all means as carefully reproduce the crack or peeling as I would any other portion of it, out of deference to the intrinsic value of the expression of the whole and the intention of the artist.

In engraving the glories and gold parts I always put them in the highest light; for as the light strikes them sidewise they shine out brightly above the other tints, and this no doubt was one of the most desirable effects gained in the use of gold. In the subject in question, No. 24 of the large panel, the drapery of the foremost figure of the group of three is a light soft tone of vermilion, the underrobe a delicate tone of blue a few degrees darker in tone than the red above it. Her draped hand presses the box of ointment to her breast. The next figure, similarly holding a vase, is clad in light purple, stronger in tone, however, than the red, and the underrobe a warm bluish gray, being a tone of white in shadow. The middle figure in the rear is in green, darker in tone than the red, but lighter than the purple. The flesh-tints are soft and luminous and brighter than the garments, but the flesh of the angel is darker, and has a reddish cast. The white garment of the angel is of a soft warm reddish tone, and the tomb partakes of the same tone, but darker. The angel has red stockings. The rocks forming the background are of a warm gray tone in the light portions clear and deep in the shaded parts. No doubt the defective perspective of the slab on which the angel sits will be noticed by the critical. I have asked several of the uninitiated if they saw anything wrong about the tomb; no one has, however, but all instantly remark upon the calm serenity of the angel. How finely this is contrasted with the awe rather than fear in the group of the three Marys. You could not imagine a grander or simpler composition. I have cut off a portion of the picture, which takes away the upper part of the rock above the angel's head; this enabled me to do greater justice to the heads, which were thus made larger on the block.

Please note that when I engrave an entire picture, I surround it by a line. A line around a picture is evidence of its completeness; in France a dealer in engravings makes a point of this. So if I cut off a portion of a picture I leave that side from which the part was cut *without a line;* and if I select a detail from the center of a picture I leave it entirely without a line, as in the case of the Cimabue in Santa Maria Novella.

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THE INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS

THE subject is a detail from the "Incredulity of St. Thomas," one of the small panels which adorned the base of the large one of twenty-six. It hangs in the same room as the large one, in the Opera del Duomo. I have selected the principal figures of Christ and Thomas, and the half figure of St. Thomas behind. You will be struck, I am sure, with the action of St. Thomas. The way in which Duccio expresses the doubt and hesitation of Thomas is something wonderful. Notice his wavering action — how the left foot comes forward as he goes toward the wall; his timidity as he dares to put his finger into the wound of Christ. But then look at Christ, his calm dignity and mild reproving manner, his sweetly benignant aspect and the majesty of his figure with the arm uplifted. There is a gentle, kind, pitiful look in his face that I must confess I have failed to get in my engraving; otherwise my reproduction looks something like it — and this is about as much as I can conscientiously say of all my blocks, though I continually put forth my best effort, for these things are a great inspiration to me. The treatment of the garment of Christ serves as a very good example of the Byzantine method in the miniature illuminations, the gold markings of which were altogether too delicate to reproduce with any effect in engraving. While in the Byzantine miniatures the robe of Christ is always illuminated, Duccio has given it significance by thus treating it only *after the resurrection*, as though he meant in that way to typify the glorified garment; for in all the instances before Christ's resurrection his robes are left plain blue and red.

BURIAL OF THE VIRGIN

NOVEMBER 5, 1887.— The subject is one of the small panels, 18 x 21 inches, in the Opera del Duomo, Siena, and the legend, or rather the part connected with the illustration, is as follows (I give only that portion of it which is more intimately connected with this particular illustration): "After the dispersion of the apostles, the Blessed Virgin is reported to have dwelt in her house, beside Mount Sion, and to have sedulously visited all the spots of her Son's life and passion so long as she lived; and she is reported to have lived twenty-four years after the ascension of Christ. And when, on a certain day, her heart burnt within her with longing for her Son, so that she broke out into very abundant tears, the angel Gabriel stood beside her and reverently saluted her, and told her, on part of her Son, that after three days she should depart from the flesh and reign with Him forever. And he gave her a branch of palm from Paradise which he commanded should be borne before the bier. And the Virgin, rejoicing, besought two boons of the angel, to wit, that her sons, the apostles, might be assembled at her death, that she might die in their presence; and secondly, that, in expiring, she might not behold Satan. And the angel promised that these things should be. And the palm-branch was green in the stem, but its leaves were like the morning star. And while John was preaching in Ephesus behold it thundered, and a cloud caught him away and set him down at Mary's door, and entering in, Mary marveled and wept for joy. And she told him how she had been sent for by the Lord and that Christ had brought him to her, and she besought him to take charge of her burial and to bear the palm-branch before the bier. And while

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John was wishing for the presence of his brother apostles, behold they were all transported in clouds from the places where they preached, and collected together before the door of Mary; to whom, while they gazed on each other greatly astonished, John went forth, and warned them of Mary's summons, and admonished them not to weep, nor let it be imputed to them that they who preached the resurrection feared death." (I omit the particular account of Mary's death.)

"For the Lord commanded the apostles that they should carry her body into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and place it in a new tomb that had been dug there, and watch three days beside it till he should return." (Here follows a short eulogy on the purity of the Blessed Virgin.)

"And when the body was laid on the bier, Peter and Paul uplifted it, and the other apostles ranged themselves around it." (Then comes a description of the carrying of Mary's body to the tomb.)

"*And the apostles laid the body of the Virgin in the tomb.*" (This is the particular portion forming the subject of the picture.) "And they watched beside it three days, and on the third day the Lord appeared with a multitude of angels, and raised up Mary, and she was received, body and soul, into heaven."

"According to some accounts," says Lindsay, "the apostle Thomas was not present at the Virgin's assumption"; and this accounts for there being only twelve apostles around the Virgin at her entombment, instead of thirteen, which the addition of Paul would make had Thomas been present.

Speaking of the coloring of Duccio, Eastlake, in a few superficial remarks, says he is "devoid of relief" in this respect. I leave the reader to judge, from the last example shown, how totally at variance with the truth this is. In some instances his coloring is Titianesque — warm, lustrous, and deep. The garment of the Virgin in the entombment is a deep blue, of a most charming hue. That of the apostle next to Peter and immediately above the head of the Virgin is also a blue, but of a different, warmer, and softer tone, so that here, for instance, is a relief of color very subtle and harmonious. That of the apostle John, who holds the palm-branch, is a rose-pink in the high lights, shading to a deeper red. The contrast this makes with the lovely blues is the most pleasing thing imaginable to look upon. Now the garments of the apostle whose head comes just above the stars of the palm-branch are also red, similar in tone to the deep shading in John's garment; but there is a softness of tone about it that gives just the proper relief to the latter. Then the palm-branch, of which the stars are gold, is a delicious, soft, tender green, shading gently deeper to one side, and this again is properly relieved against the deeper green of the garment of the apostle the top of whose head comes just behind three of the stars. This apostle, from the type of his face and his long hair, is evidently James, the brother of our Lord. The garment of the one next to him, whose hand comes in proximity with those of the Virgin, is a charming mixture of warm purple and greenish-blue tints. That of the one next to him is of a warm brown, well relieved against the brownish shadows of the rock behind. So on throughout — always a pleasing variety and subtle relief of color. The marble tomb is of a reddish, warm tone, roughly hewn, as I have engraved it. The trees, carefully worked up in detail, are of various shades of lustrous green, and the sky and glories around the heads are gold. The flesh-tints are warm brownish yellows, while the flesh of the Virgin is relieved from that of the others, being deader in tone. The whole is a most harmonious combination of color — a true symphony in color.

T. C.

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Chapter IV

GIOTTO

(Born 1276, died 1336)

Cimabue's claim to be the restorer of art I have said to be unjustifiable, if that term is to be taken in the full sense. I admit it only so far as he was the master and judicious trainer of Giotto in those sound technical traditions which enabled the pupil to attain to that supreme felicity and facility which make the master in art. The precocity of the child Giotto which attracted the attention of Cimabue as recounted in the tradition of the first interview is, if true, not uncommon in children, and is rarely the indication of serious talent. As a legend it remains because the popular mind loves legends and marvels; but the more probable history is told by a commentator of Dante, that the boy was sent to a wool-worker to learn that trade, but on the way used to stop at Cimabue's workshop. One day the father went to the wool-worker to inquire how the boy was getting on, and learned that he played truant from the service he was sent to and had not been seen for many days. So, taking counsel from Cimabue, the father changed his son's vocation. This story is better and more conformed to the qualities of art than that of his precocious use of the slate and pencil before he had seen anything of art. Vasari was fond of fables and what was most marvelous; he accepted whatever stories were current in his time and made them part of his record.

How the boy prospered with Cimabue, Vasari does not tell us, save briefly that he "not only equaled his master, but became so good an imitator of nature that he broke up that grotesque Greek manner and revived the modern and good art of painting, introducing the drawing well of living persons, which for more than two hundred years had not been exercised." This expression is curious as showing that even in the time of Vasari it was understood that

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painting had only been sleeping, and that in the eleventh century it had had a healthy development, and that Giotto had revived it (*resuscito*). But Giotto was more than a restorer. He did indeed break up completely the close prescription from which Cimabue even never escaped; and while he still held fast to the purely decorative side of Byzantine art, as we may see in the decorative work between and around the separate pictures in the Arena Chapel in Padua, he introduced into the art a dramatic element hitherto unknown, save by some doubtful tradition of perished Greek pictures, where its presence must have been exceptional, as in the case recorded in the history of classical art of the sacrifice of Iphigenia when the father, unwilling to see the consummation of the sacrifice, wraps his head in his cloak.[1] But this case, celebrated in all classical tradition, bears no comparison to the full, ever-present, and intense imaginative power of Giotto. The veiling of the head by the Greek painter was probably due quite as much to the inability of the artist to master the expression of the face as to dramatic feeling. He was used simply to the embodiment of types which, like those of the early Christian art, were as prescriptive as were the masks of tragedy and comedy on the stage. The preservation of the type was antagonistic to the quality of dramatic expression, which, until Giotto, was, so far as we know, entirely obscured.

It is absurd to say, as Ruskin does, that Giotto had nothing to learn in art of the men who came after him: the extravagant eulogium falls pointless when we consider that it was only two hundred years later that color, the highest attainment in art, as harmony is in music, began to be reduced to its definite expression. Giotto rejoiced in vivid color and made it a more important element in decorative effect than it had ever been before; but as it was known to the great Venetians, even to Bellini, Giotto had no conception of it, and it probably needed the modified processes of oil painting to enable the painter to work it out—the processes employed by Giotto and all his predecessors and contemporaries, of *tempera* or *fresco*, not lending themselves to the highest development of color effect,[2] and perhaps not leading to its study.

If Ruskin had said that what Giotto lacked of the qualities of his successors was of no value to him (Ruskin), he may have told all

1 This is preserved in a picture from Pompeii now in the Naples Museum, which, however it may be degraded from the Greek original, still justifies the opinion I express.

2 Artists understand this readily. For others I will say that the methods used by Giotto and his contemporaries do not permit the gradual development of color effect.

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the truth; but we have long known that Ruskin's ideals of art are very far removed from those which the best modern artists maintain, and that to some of the rarest qualities of Venetian and even of later art he is absolutely insensible. Giotto's color is not essentially different from that of his time. Pale and simple tints dominate throughout, and it is clear that the picture was intended to aid as far as possible in keeping the churches light and to be clearly seen and understood in the building, dimly illuminated at the best, where it was painted. The relation to the art of Cimabue and his contemporaries is evident enough. But in dramatic power I am inclined to think that he has never been equaled, and in that utterly modern phase of art which may be called the story-telling he has no rival since. In the details of his art, in the method of using nature, he varies so little from the men who worked with him that we have Ruskin praising as one of his highest achievements a picture painted by Don Lorenzo of Camaldoli; and we have read his eulogies[1] over a picture in Santa Maria Novella as Giotto's which is now found not to be his. This only shows that in cases where his rare imaginative gift is not developed, his technical powers are not so superior to those of other painters of his day that his work can always be distinguished from theirs.

Perhaps the works of Giotto which best show the contributions he made to art are the subjects of the Arena Chapel, and among them one of the most remarkable is the head of Christ, who turns to look reproachfully at the Roman who drives him along with a whip, which head Mr. Cole has chosen for reproduction; another is the "Visitation," in which the momentary expression of the faces, the intense congratulation of Elizabeth, and the serene content of the Virgin, combined with the action, so intensely dramatic without the least overcharge, are given all the power and refinement which the capacities of art at that day permitted. If we compare the faint smile which kindles in the face of the Virgin with that of Leonardo's "Gioconda," the technical refinement of the latter will show wherein art had made advances, for the head which occupied Leonardo for years, overworked, retouched, and corrected, can by no means be set in the same category as the rapidly painted fresco of Giotto, which perhaps occupied him, without any aid from the model, as many minutes as Leonardo gave months to his picture; but when this was finished it remained mechanical and photo-

[1] "Mornings in Florence."

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graphic as compared with the inspired and unhesitating brush of Giotto. Again, the figure belongs to a design entirely heroic, with no affectation of simpering graces such as we find too often in Raphael's madonnas — graces borrowed from the women about him and whom he made his saints.

That Giotto never painted from nature, in the sense in which we now accept the expression "painting from nature," is clear, not only from the enormous numbers of works he executed, but from the study of the works themselves, in which we find continually evidence of the pure invention of the accessories, the slight and conventional treatment of draperies, the formal and prescriptive treatment of the hands and feet, the so general adherence to profile, and the absolutely conventional quality of his light and shade. The hands and feet, especially in their prescriptive rendering, and even the treatment of the heads, so far from anything like the recognition of realism, show unmistakably that the modern treatment of facts was not even conceived by him.

The story of Giotto's O is another of those legends in which Vasari found matter for marvel, but in which, when properly interpreted, is a genuine revelation of the nature of the training and accomplishments of the artist of that day. Being asked for a drawing to be sent to the Pope as a proof of his powers, he took a sheet of paper (or parchment), and with a brush dipped in red color, and holding his arm firmly to his side and moving his wrist only, drew a circle of such perfect design that it has ever since stood as the type of free-hand drawing. But this *per se* is not such a remarkable thing to do that even among smaller men than Giotto's contemporaries it should have given one a reputation. The legend seems to be well established, and has a certain recognizable relation to the art of that day which it is well to point out. The painter was then best known as a craftsman and esteemed for his skill in doing certain set designs; so that Giotto's O, which implied no knowledge of nature or loftiness of conception, told the Pope simply that the draughtsman had a skilful hand. And it was precisely his skilful hand—his penman-like steadiness of hand—on which Giotto prided himself; because it was on that control of his muscles, the precision and facility united in his touch, that he and those to whom he addressed himself based his standing as a craftsman. This was indeed, in the kind of work to which he was called, in fresco and tempera, of highest importance; but that the pos-

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session of this certainty of hand, even in the highest perfection, should satisfy the Pope of Giotto's capacities as an artist we can only conceive on one of two hypotheses—that the Pope was so well educated in art that he knew the whole value of this gift, which is not probable; or that he looked at religious painting as the Byzantines did, as something to be done by set pattern, and all that was necessary was that the artist should be a master of his pencil. The latter was probably the case. A pope or a bishop, a convent or a chapter, ordered a picture as one might a chasuble or a piece of church furniture. The pupils began by drawing the Madonna according to a certain pattern, and they drew it pretty much in the same way, only more quickly and with more mastery, to the end. The imagination and the personality of Giotto probably weighed less with his public and time than did his O.

Yet in Giotto's series of pictures from the life of St. Francis, Vasari notes with great emphasis, as showing his idea of the artist's excellence,—an idea doubtless held by a portion, but certainly not the ecclesiastical portion or the majority, of his public,—that a figure of a thirsty man, "in whom one sees the lively longing for water, drinks bending earthwards towards the fountain with very great and wonderful effect, so much so that it seems to be a living person who drinks." And of a picture of Job he says, somewhat fancifully, I suspect:

> Equally of stupendous grace is the figure of a servant, who with a fan stands near Job, who is doubled up and as if abandoned by everybody, and well done [the servant] in all parts and marvelous in his action, driving away the flies from his leprous and stinking master with one hand, while with the other, *dirty*, he holds his nose, not to perceive the smell.

But the refinement of expression which Giotto gives his figures may be sufficiently well judged by Mr. Cole's faithful reproductions, in which the exact degree is rendered, and in which we see that the standard of what we now consider as refinement of drawing or execution was far less remarkable than the extraordinary vigor and freshness of invention. In the "Ascension of St. John the Evangelist," from Santa Croce, note the young disciple who looks down into the grave and with his fellow wonders at the void, not at the saint rising above, who seems invisible to the whole group at the left, so that they only know by the emptiness of the grave that the saint has risen. Yet no pupil of any modern master

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would be proud of the draperies of the figures on the extreme left. Throughout the whole picture of the death of St. Francis (also at Santa Croce) Mr. Cole's rendering of the drawing of the heads and draperies is of the same absolute fidelity,[1] and it is in the single dramatic action of some of the figures about the head of the bed that we find the greatness of the artist; and then in the exquisite tenderness of the saint borne in the spirit away into the blue sky by the angels.

It is at Padua rather than at Santa Croce that one must learn Giotto, not merely because there the work is in better general preservation, but because the Arena Chapel contains such a series of masterly designs of such sustained invention and balanced power, in which all that is most characteristic of the painter in his prime is so well given, that there is nothing in the world of art to equal it. In this collective achievement of so much that was new in the art world—imagination, pictorial invention, knowledge of human nature, dramatic power, and knowledge of the resources of his art unapproached before his time—one may realize the relation of Giotto to the art of his day, the most individual, the most imaginative, and, with at most two or three exceptions, the most intellectual, of all artists whose work we possess. But to understand this inexhaustible quarry of pure art we must dismiss the ideas of modern standards and remember that the art of Giotto was, *toto cælo*, at variance with that of the present school based on fidelity to surface, and that the realistic perfection even of the nobler Venetian schools was as much out of the reach of the human intellect in the days of Giotto as the evolutionary philosophy was in the days of Aristotle. Painting was until long after his day the book of the Church, the only means of making the people realize the doctrines whose importance was then supreme. To represent sacred things in conformity with the canons of the Church it was necessary to have some measure of ecclesiastical education; whence the obligation of learning Latin, which we are told was one of the first steps in Giotto's education, as it must have been in that of any painter whose business it was to illustrate the sacred text, the Bible existing only in Greek or Latin. In this condition of choice of subject and in the resulting manner of treatment is to be found the chief influence that shaped the art of the epoch. Neither nature nor

[1] I return, perhaps needlessly, to this assurance, because the heaviness and almost wooden look of some of the heads might be ascribed falsely to the engraver. They belong to the original.

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science had any claims on the human intellect when compared with the dogmas of the Church; and the personality of the artist and his subjective qualities were in themselves of no weight whatever. To recount the story of Christ, the glories of heaven, and the horrors of hell was the business of the painter; and a greater measure of truth to the ordinary aspects of the physical world carried no weight, any more than did the greater attainment of those qualities which now we recognize as the most vital to art; *i. e.*, harmony of line and tint, and composition of masses and colors.

These qualities were in Giotto the spontaneous accompaniments of all his conceptions, and mark his artistic supremacy more clearly than they now would, in a time when their value has been recognized as the highest aim of the painter. We have these qualities in many other painters, and in some of them to a degree which denotes a refinement of research which Giotto never shows; but in them they are the result of comparative study and the accumulation of example and tradition. In him art springs to life unheralded and unexampled. In some respects his position may be compared to that of Shakspere, rising isolated in his excellence above all around him—like him also in vivid dramatic instinct and in fervid imagination. His technique is that of the school—a school, however, in which he was so large and powerful an element that, while his work is confounded with that of his pupils and his contemporaries, most of the credit of it must come back to him. "In those days," says Morelli, "originality was differently understood." The aim of the artist was to paint in the best manner; not to make a manner of his own by which, in some petty peculiarity of treatment, the painter should be found. That Giotto fecundated all the art of his day, not only technically but intellectually, appears from the constant attribution to him of pictures by his followers. For instance, in the long and minute description of the pictures of the life of the Beata Michelina given by Vasari, in which the dramatic qualities of Giotto are particularly insisted on as making this series "one of the most beautiful and excellent things which Giotto ever did," and of certain figures in them as "worthy of infinite praise for being, especially in the manner of the draperies, of a naturalness of folding which makes us understand that Giotto was born to give light to painting." But these pictures were not by Giotto, who died in 1336; whereas the Beata died in 1356, and was therefore probably beatified only about 1400. As, like most of Giotto's pic-

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tures, they have been covered with whitewash by the reverent care of ecclesiastical authorities, or "to lighten the church," we cannot say by whom they were painted, though their reputation bears testimony to the vigor of the school of which Giotto was the founder and chief. This was the function and property of all the true schools of art, that they imparted even to their minor members such a perception of the qualities of style, and awakened by their contagion of intellectual sympathy such ideal activity, that it becomes often impossible to distinguish the work of the master from that of the pupil. This is the case in the school of Titian no less than in that of Giotto.

The genius of Giotto is as nobly shown by his Campanile at Florence as by his pictures; but in all his work, and especially in the pure decoration, as in the Arena Chapel, we find the exquisite feeling for decorative art which makes the Campanile so precious. Nothing in art is beneath his deovtion, nothing too great for his grasp. But the anonymous commentator of Dante who records the history of Giotto's beginning has a statement for which there is no other confirmation, and for which we must all hope in the love of poetic justice that there is no good foundation. The commentary says: "He designed and directed the marble campanile of Santa Riparata [the Duomo, afterward called Santa Maria del Fiore] — a notable campanile and of great cost. He there committed two errors — one that it had not proper foundations [*ceppo di pie*], the other that it was too narrow; he took this so much to heart that he sickened from it and died." This commentary, written probably within a half-century of Giotto's death, may be considered the earliest authority we have as to any facts of his life. Certain it is that the design of Giotto was not completed, for the Campanile lacks the pyramid which was designed as its termination; and this may be taken as possible confirmation that the foundation and dimensions of the base were not considered sufficient for the structure he intended to have reared on them, and that the modifications of the plans so made necessary may have produced the effect that the commentator records. Vasari says nothing of it, but Vasari was remote from Giotto's epoch and often ill informed. If the condemnation of Giotto's plans was the result of a deliberation of the authorities, they may have studiously suppressed the facts through fear of exciting popular indignation; but if due to Giotto's recognition of the mistake supposed to be made,—for time

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has hardly justified the assumption of the insufficiency of the foundations,—his illness, if due to that cause, would have been of the nature to exalt the popular imagination and would be certain to survive as legend. If we recall the pride in his work and the jealousy of criticism recorded of Cimabue, we may the more easily credit the report of the commentator concluding that Giotto was obliged to abandon the original plan by the official condemnation of his capacity as an architect. But as Giotto died two years and a half after the beginning of the work, there could have been but a small part of it above ground when the fatal disease began, which was after his return from Milan in 1336; and any condemnation of the foundations could have had no justification in signs of failure of the substructure, which is sound to this day. If the statement of the commentator is correct, Giotto died of unmerited humiliation —the incompetence of his judges. He was succeeded as architect by Andrea Pisano, who was dismissed, his work being disapproved for reasons now unknown. The part which Giotto saw built is the basement, and Andrea's part is the story in which are statues. The inconsistency noted in the decoration of this part with that of the basement and the upper part as far as the cornice, which is common to both church and campanile, probably shows the reason why Andrea was dismissed, as the work above the cornice again resumes the character of that below, and therefore accords with the design of Giotto.

Of the works ascribed to Giotto now in existence, in all probability a large proportion are only of his school; but the authentic record of his accomplished work shows a facility and rapidity of execution unrivaled in the history of art. He is to be studied in Assisi as well as in Florence and Padua. The frescos in the Incoronata of Naples are certainly not his, and the famous portrait of Dante in the Bargello can no longer be held as the tribute of the friendship which existed between the painter and the poet. To my mind there is no question but this is the copy of a portrait by Giotto which has perished, and that it is due to one of his pupils. Of the personal history of the great artist we know almost as little as of Cimabue and Memmi.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

PADUA, August 3, 1886.—I am here in the Arena Chapel, and am at last confronted by Giotto. How brilliant, light, and rich the coloring is! It quite fulfils all that I had read or thought of Giotto. I am conveniently located and the light is good, but it is hard to keep to work with so many fine things above one's head. I can scarcely escape the feeling that the heavens are open above me, and yet I must keep my head bent downward to the earth. Surely no one ever had a more inspiring workshop.

CHRIST BEFORE CAIAPHAS

THE "Christ before Caiaphas" is in the Arena Chapel of Padua. The history of the Madonna and of Christ is here rendered in a series of thirty-eight frescos. Photographs of these are on sale in the chapel, and each one is numbered. The "Christ before Caiaphas" is No. 31. It represents that portion of the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew from the sixty-fifth to the sixty-eighth verse: "Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; . . . behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye? . . . And others smote him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee?"

Christ stands bound before Caiaphas, who, seated, is tearing his garment open from his breast, throwing himself somewhat back in rage, while his colleague seated by his side, with outstretched hand and body bent slightly forward in solemn and impressive attitude, pronounces the words, "Behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye?" Christ has just been smitten by the leader of the angry crowd behind, who has his arm raised for another blow: his hand is open, showing that he smote with the palm. What could be finer than the action of Christ, full of gentleness, as with calm and unshaken dignity he turns to look upon his smiter? The attention centers in this supremely fine face, one of Giotto's masterpieces of subtile expression. He shows the perfect mastery of Christ over his emotions at a moment of surprise. There is a benign sweetness in the countenance. But to appreciate this fully one must see the original, in which not only is there the added charm of color,—for there is a delicate blush suffusing the face,—but the contrast of the surrounding faces, brutal with hate and anger, serves to throw into greater relief the peculiar strength and sweetness of this face of Christ. The glory around the head is gilded, and in rather high relief from the picture. The hair is of a soft brown color; the beard of the same color, but a little lighter; the overrobe of a light fresh blue; and the underrobe of a soft dull red.

THE VISITATION OF MARY TO ELISABETH

THE fresco by Giotto of "The Visitation of Mary to Elisabeth" is No. 15 of the series at the Arena Chapel, Padua, and is one of the most beautiful of the thirty-eight that adorn its walls. The deep feeling exhibited in the remarkable face of the old Elisabeth takes one captive instantly. It seems to me finely descriptive of the text: "And Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost, . . . and

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said, Blessed art thou among women," etc. (Luke i. 41, 42.)

The composition is no less remarkable for strength and simplicity. The text says that Mary "entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth" (verse 40). Giotto, on the contrary, makes Elisabeth come out of her house to receive Mary upon the threshold. Here is a poetic license and a happy device, one in which he has been followed by all artists among the Italians who have treated this subject successfully; and I doubt not that it allows of greater simplicity of treatment and greater directness in telling the story. In the present instance we see at a glance, with Elisabeth by her threshold, that Mary is the visitant. Then, by placing the scene in the open air, there is the advantage of greater breadth and largeness in the distribution. Here we have the portico, the open doorway, and the figure of the maid-servant on one side of Elisabeth, balanced by the group of Mary and her two servants on the other side, with a clear space above — always a valuable consideration with the artist. But for this clear space above, the ornamentation of the portico, for instance, would have been insignificant and of no apparent consequence; but now it stands forth and gives a pleasing variety. Also, against this clear space the faces have value and importance, while the space is of value in itself as a rest for the eye.

In point of color this fresco is one of the finest of the series. There is a suggestion of the later Venetian coloring in the rich soft maroon tone of the drapery of Mary. Her white sleeve comes out finely against it, and is the highest point of light in the picture. The overrobe of Elisabeth is a fine tone of yellow, her dress being a rich soft shade of brown. Finely contrasted is the fresh complexion of Mary with that of Elisabeth, which is brown and weather-worn. The drapery of the maid-servant behind Elisabeth is of a fine soft gray tone. Of the drapery of the two maids on the other side, that of the foremost is of a grayish-yellow tone, inclining to the latter shade; that of the farther, of a bluish gray. The sky is of a bright ultramarine blue, strong in color. Giving its proper value in black and white conveys no idea of the freshness and liveliness of the tint. All the skies of the series are of this prevailing hue. I remember Mr. Stillman's remarking in connection with these things, some time after I had engraved this example, that the color blue, though strong and positive, yet carries the idea of light with it; so that its proper value in black and white contradicts the idea of light which it conveys. I think I should have done better, on the whole, had I engraved the sky lighter; though to give the proper value of the faces against the sky was a consideration not to be lost sight of. I have always found, however, the color blue a difficult tint to reproduce properly in black and white.

DEATH OF ST. FRANCIS

THE fresco by Giotto of the "Death of St. Francis" is the lower one on the eastern wall of the Bardi Chapel in the Church of Santa Croce, Florence. It is 8 feet 10 inches high, 14 feet 5 inches long. The saint reclines upon a bier in an open part of the cloister, surrounded by the brethren of the Order in their grayish-brown robes and bending over him in various attitudes of affectionate grief. Three at the head and three at the feet in white robes stand reading the mass. A cardinal in his red robe bordered with ermine kneels with his back to the spectator, probing with his fingers the wound in the saint's side — one of the

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marks of the Stigmata. Others of the brethren kiss and dwell over his hands and feet, similarly marked; one of them at the head has caught sight of the soul of St. Francis as it is borne to heaven by angels. The sky is deep blue. The background of the cloister and the architecture on each side is of a pinkish hue. The cloth thrown over the bier on which St. Francis is lying is yellowish in tone. This fresco, and indeed the entire chapel, was restored in 1853. The feeling of grief in this beautiful work is stirring and passionate, while as a composition it is preëminent in the perfection of its arrangement.

ASCENSION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

THE "Ascension of St. John the Evangelist" is in the Peruzzi Chapel — the second chapel west of the Bardi — of the Church of Santa Croce, and, like the "Death of St. Francis," is oblong in shape, being 8 feet 6 inches high by 14 feet 8 inches long. It is the lower fresco of the western wall of the chapel. The "St. John" is said to be less retouched than the "St. Francis," and certainly is finer in tone and color. The prevailing colors of the garments of the spectators are soft yellowish-gray tones of white, blue, and red; those of the Evangelist's, purple and blue. The glories around the heads are of gold. The background or interior of the architecture is a warm gray tone, while that of the more forward and outer portions is pinkish. Christ and the saints break through suddenly from a fiery cloud in the deep blue sky; golden rays stream from the Saviour's countenance, flooding the Evangelist. The picture is dramatic in the highest sense and wonderfully impressive.

T. C.

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Chapter V

SIMONE MEMMI

(Properly, Simone Martini. Also called Simone of Siena. 1283(?)–1344)

The good fortune which befell Cimabue in his friendship with Dante was closely paralleled by that of Simone, the Sienese painter, in his relations with Petrarch, by which the artist's reputation was spread abroad through the world of letters and theology, and, in this latter friendship, even leading to the artist's being called to Avignon, then the seat of the papacy. Simone is best known from having painted the portraits of Petrarch and Laura, as well as portraits of other eminent personages of his day. But in this portraiture we must not discover the altogether modern practice of study from life, or imagine anything like the work of the genuine school of portraiture which began with the early Dutch schools, perhaps contemporaneously with the Venetians. The portraiture of the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries was a shadowy similitude of the personal presence, and, judging from what remains of it, was done only from memory, as all the figures were. Painting was still a convention, and the conception of anything like what moderns now realize even in their idealisms was generations in the future. That even the rival schools of Florence and Siena were very like is made clear by the fact already pointed out that the painters of one are so often attributed to the other by the writers of a time very near to that of the painters' own. Thus Vasari makes Simone the pupil of Giotto, while as seen by modern inquiry it is clear that he is a Sienese painter, as indeed the tradition of his name would make him, though to a careless student the differences of style are hardly to be dwelt on.

Petrarch, indeed, long ago made any confusion concerning Simone's quality without any excuse, for he says: "I have known

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two excellent painters—Giotto of Florence, whose fame is great in the present generation, and Simone of Siena." He does not indeed say that he was not a pupil of Giotto, but as the school of Siena was the older and, prior to Giotto, probably the more advanced one, it is most improbable that Petrarch should have ignored the true relation; and had Simone, his intimate personal friend, been the pupil of his other friend Giotto, he had hardly omitted some mention of the fact in this common commemoration. But we are left in little doubt, for the more recent searches of Milanesi have made it tolerably clear that Simone owed his art, as he did his existence, to the great rival of Florence.

In 1324 Simone Martini married the sister of Filippo (Lippo) Memmi, which caused the confusion as to his name, Simone being often mentioned by Vasari as the brother of Lippo.

In the town hall of Siena is a fresco signed by Simone, and bearing the date 1315. It represents the Virgin and Child, with a great number of saints and angels, some of whom hold a canopy over the throne. In spite of the great size of this fresco—for the figures are more than life-size—it is painted like a miniature, the garments being touched up with gold and delicately embroidered. In 1321 we find that twenty-six lire were paid to Simone for retouching this fresco.

In 1320 the convent of St. Catherine in Pisa ordered a picture from Simone for the high altar. It has been separated, but the parts of it have been preserved in the Gallery of Fine Arts of Pisa, and in the Seminary. This is the most beautiful of his paintings which remain to us. In the seven principal divisions are the half-figures of the Virgin and Child and of six saints. Above each are two half-figures of apostles. In the cusps are Christ and two archangels, and the prophets. Below the Virgin is a Pietá, composed of three half-lengths, with six little figures of saints on each side. This painting is truly marvelous for delicacy and expression.[1] At Orvieto, in the museum, there are several panels by Simone, probably painted about this time.

In Assisi, in the chapel of St. Martin, are ten frescos from the history of the saint, which Vasari attributes to Puccio Capanna,

[1] There is a slight error in the description of the predella [St. Catherine in Pisa], the central division being wider than the six side divisions—there are three figures, the others have two each. Cole calls this central panel an Ecce Homo; properly it is the Pietá with the usual side figures of the Virgin and St. John. These he does not mention; there are in all, therefore, fifteen half-lengths in the predella and fourteen above, without the gables. C. F. MURRAY.

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but which are, according to Cavalcaselle, certainly by Simone.[1] Some other frescos in the lower church Vasari speaks of as by Simone, and tells of their being by Lippo; but the assistant was most likely Donato Martini, Simone's younger brother, who accompanied him to Avignon.

These frescos, especially the first-mentioned series, are among Simone's most important works.[2] The drawing of the figures is not always correct, nor the proportion just; the joints are often clumsy and the extremities heavy; but as a rule the action is spontaneous and graceful, the expression lifelike, the drapery flowing, the color vigorous, and the execution accurate and precise when compared with prior and most contemporary work. Vasari's opinion of Simone is that he was not a good draughtsman, but rather that he was endowed by nature with great invention, and that he painted much and well from life, this being qualified, as I have before shown.

From 1328 to 1335 Simone was at work in Siena again. He executed another fresco in the council hall, opposite to the one painted in 1315, representing the victorious general Guidoriccio da Fogliano on horseback, for which he received sixteen florins. For other paintings executed in various churches and public buildings we find he got such sums as one lira five soldi, four lire five soldi, twenty-two lire eight soldi, etc. Only two frescos of all this work remain. A panel of the Annunciation, painted in 1333 for the Duomo of Siena, is now in the Uffizi at Florence. Vasari is mistaken in supposing that he did some work at the Campo Santo of Pisa. Neither he nor Lippo did anything there.

In 1339 he was called to Avignon. Some of the old writers say he was taken there by a cardinal who was passing through Siena on his way to join the papal court on the banks of the Rhone. Very little is known of the work done by Simone in Avignon. The frescos in the cathedral are so fallen into decay as to be hardly distinguishable; most of those in the pontifical palace — since used as a barrack — are almost equally ruined, and from what remains they would seem to have been executed by his brother Donato rather than by Simone himself.

[1] I think you hardly do justice to this series of frescos. The 'Death of St. Martin' seems to me one of the finest pictures of the time, and I am sorry that Mr. Cole did not engrave it.
C. F. MURRAY.

[2] These frescos are practically the only ones of any importance by Simone existing, and show clearly that he had nothing to do with the Spanish Chapel. C. F. MURRAY.

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The papal chapel is decorated with frescos undoubtedly by Simone, but the somewhat poor execution would seem to indicate that much of the work was done by Donato or by some other assistant. They represent scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist, and in one is a group of women, intended evidently as portraits, the first of whom, most richly dressed, is like the reputed portrait of Laura in the Spanish chapel at Florence. She stands very straight, looking calmly in front of her. Her yellow robe is covered by a long blue mantle; a hood covers her head and is buttoned close around her throat; and her red-gold hair, parted down the middle, is bound by a red ribbon. Another chapel in the palace containing frescos by Simone is that of the Holy Office, but these are in very bad preservation—much faded and retouched.[1]

Simone died at Avignon, and is buried there in the church of S. Francisco. Vasari maintains him to be the author of three of the frescos in the Spanish chapel of Santa Maria Novella; but contemporary evidence shows that in 1355 they were still unfinished, while the chapel itself was only begun in 1350. The work which of all still remaining best represents him is probably that in his native city and that at Assisi. He was not a great original artist like Giotto or Duccio, but an excellent workman, diligent, conscientious, and while closely adherent to the traditions of his school still in his conceptions no mere copyist—his inventions sometimes showing decided originality and imaginative power, as in "The Death of S. Martino" at Assisi. But in that day obedience to conventional types, and even the most frank adaptation of the compositions of approved predecessors, was considered rather a virtue of the painter than a derogation of his dignity, and originality bore no premium. The old types kept a semi-sacred character, and the imagination had always to obey laws which descended from the Byzantines more or less directly. Memmi's personality—if that quality in art can be distinguished from individuality—was sturdy and matter of fact rather than winged and daring like Giotto's; but even Giotto never escaped from his conventional precedents. Religious conservatism, as well as the prescriptions of the schools, militated against novelty.

1 Cavalcaselle notices as by Simone a charming little panel of "Christ Found in the Temple," now in the gallery at Liverpool, signed and dated 1342, and a second at Antwerp. Both were painted probably at Avignon, and therefore give the latest phase of the art of the painter. They show the teaching of Duccio.

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The close relation between Simone and his brother-in-law Lippo, not merely personal but technical, has doubtless led to frequent confusion between their works. Lippo was Simone's assistant at Orvieto, and we know that after 1324 they worked together in the studio of Simone. As Lippo's excellence lay in his execution rather than in composition, he probably did a great deal of the actual work in the pictures attributed to his master and relative, both in carrying out the designs of the latter and in gilding and decorating the beautiful architectural frames which formed so important a part of the ornamental system of the time. One of these frames is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the original state — framing a group of pictures of the school of Lorenzetti. The pictures which are signed by Lippo, though possibly entirely by him, are often only repetitions of the designs of Simone, as for instance in the fresco in the town hall of San Gimigiano he followed that by Simone in the town hall of Siena. Vasari says that Lippo finished the work which Simone left unfinished when he went to Avignon and that which he left incomplete at his death; but there are many pictures signed by Lippo which can hardly be distinguished from those of Simone, showing that a complete accord existed between them. Therefore we have really no absolute criterion by which we can separate the work of one from that of the other, and we may imagine them associated in all the work attributed to either, except that at Avignon.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

NOVEMBER 5, 1887.— At Pisa I found undoubtedly the finest work of Simone Memmi — small panels of single saints. Such rare and delicate work I had not supposed him capable of. The finish of these paintings is most exquisite, and reminds me much of the treatment of Duccio, whom he succeeded. Of these I had begun to engrave the Santa Chiara, but subsequently abandoned it for the St. Catherine.

MAY 25, 1888.— "St. Catherine of Alexandria," by Simone Martini, called Simone Memmi, is a detail from a panel in the library of the Seminario at Pisa. The panel itself is a detail of what was once a large and beautiful work. It is now dismembered, and some of its parts are found in the Pisa Academy and the others at the Seminario; none of the panels, however, are lost. It was painted in the year 1320 for the high altar of the Church of St. Catherine, Pisa, and was composed of seven principal compartments representing half-length figures of apostles and saints. One of these, a Madonna and Child, occupied the center, the others being disposed on each side. They are about

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two feet high, and are each inclosed in a handsome framework. Above each are two small half-lengths, and above and between each of these two is a smaller medallion, the whole forming a panel about four feet high. These seven principal panels represent, besides the Madonna and Child, the following saints: St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and St. Dominic.

The predella to the picture consisted of an Ecce Homo in the center, and twelve saints, male and female, six on each side — half-lengths, perhaps nine inches high. The whole when complete must have measured some fourteen or fifteen feet long by six or seven feet high.

It is painted in tempera upon wood. The backgrounds and glories are of gold, as well as much of the trimming and ornamentation of the draperies. The drapery of St. Catherine is richly ornamented, and the painting of this is exquisite for delicacy and cleanness, as is the engraved work in the glory around the head — far too delicate and neat to be done justice to in any engraving. It will be noticed that the execution of the patterns in the drapery is flat, without regard to foreshortening in the folds. Attention does not appear to have been directed to this foreshortening until a century later, in the time of Pietro della Francesca (1415–1492). The color of the drapery is of a warm gray tone, yellowish in the lighter portions, and the dark folds of a neutral or bluish tint. The flesh-tints are similar in tone, but darker. The book is red, but of a soft, agreeable tone; the hand which holds it has been restored. St. Catherine, as patron saint and martyr, has several attributes. The crown is hers by right as sovereign princess; she bears the palm as martyr; she holds the book as significant of her learning.

THE three portraits known by tradition as those of Cimabue, Giotto, and Taddeo Gaddi are from the large fresco adorning the entire right-hand wall (as you enter) of the Spagnuoli Chapel, of the church Santa Maria Novella, Florence. It was formerly said to be the work of Simone Memmi (Martini) but modern criticism is disposed to assign it to Andrea da Firenze. Evidently they are not taken from the life, but are, rather, reminiscent — dream-like images.

The chapel is rather dark, the windows being low. The summer afternoons afford the best light, and the hours between 12 and 3 P. M. were the only possible ones for engraving. But I found it a mistake to work in so quiet a light, since one insensibly runs into coarseness — the brighter the light the better for engraving.

The chapel is one of the most imposing monuments of the Christian art of the fourteenth century. It was founded for the then newly instituted festival of the Corpus Christi by a rich Florentine citizen, Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti. The walls are entirely covered in fresco, each subject connected with its fellow, thus forming one grand whole. The series opens with the Passion of our Lord on the altar wall immediately facing the spectator as he enters, appropriately placed, as it is the one great fact upon which the church is founded, and which the festival of the Corpus Christi is intended to celebrate.

The fresco of the left wall is an allegorical representation of the wisdom of the church, while its opposite companion, from which the portraits are taken, is designed to show the church militant. In its lower part, filling the left, is the cathedral of Florence, according to its original design. Before it on thrones sit a pope and an emperor, with ecclesiastical and temporal rulers near them on either hand. On the side, grouds of

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the faithful stand and kneel. They consist partly of celebrated men and women of the time, and partly of the poor and infirm. It is from these groups that the portraits have been taken, and kind old Fra Lorenzo points out with smiling complacency the heads of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Arnolfo di Lapo, Simone Memmi, and Laura, the spouse of Petrarch, with others. The community of the faithful is also represented under the form of a flock of sheep feeding before the feet of the pope and guarded by two dogs. Further to the right is seen St. Dominic preaching against the heretics, converting some who burn their books and entreat pardon. Near him the flock is again introduced, but now it is attacked by wolves while the dogs defend it. The dogs are spotted black and white, and old Fra Lorenzo is particular to explain that this is an allusion to the dress of his order — the Dominicans (Domini Canes) who are the especial defenders of the church. Above the groups, a spacious landscape stretches, closed by the towers of a distant city, and planted with fruit-trees into which figures are seen climbing, plucking and throwing down the fruit to their comrades; others dancing, etc., symbolizing the lovers of the world, the tasters of the apples of Sodom. A path, narrow and steep, leads from the revelers up to Paradise. A few have taken it, while of these some have wandered from it, plucking the fruit by the way. Above the church is seen the door which leads to heaven. St. Peter opens it to the blessed, and they enter where Christ appears in glory, with choirs of angels on either side. The whole is charming beyond description and well repays a summer's afternoon.

T. C.

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Chapter VI

GADDO GADDI

(Born 1259?, died 1332?)

Nothing more curiously illustrates the common source of the Florentine and Sienese schools than the perpetual confusion arising in the attribution of the works of the early masters of either and the uncertainty of the early writers as to the affiliation of one or another painter with Siena or Florence. As to Gaddo Gaddi there is, however, no room for doubt, for his personal relation with Giotto and Cimabue was so well known in early times that it is impossible to separate them from him. Vasari, with all his inaccuracies, gives us the greater part of the knowledge we possess of early Italian art, and it is impossible not to give weight to his testimony until we find it overthrown by something more authentic. This we get occasionally in the documents which have been brought to the knowledge of the world by that modern critical research into this history which has been excited by the growing sense of the importance of the beginnings of art for the better comprehension of its final results; but there still remain many things for which we have only Vasari's authority and as to which we are now never likely to have any more competent. And the tendency to dispute the statements of the historian, so natural under the circumstances, has been carried by both Milanesi and Cavalcaselle to a point which becomes contentious. Thus when Milanesi, in speaking of Gaddo Gaddi, undertakes to deny his authorship of the lunette over the door of Santa Maria del Fiore *because* it shows a combination of the style of the Byzantines with that of Cimabue, we are driven to say that his objection is an absolutely futile one, because this is

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the character by which Vasari declares Gaddo's works to be distinguished. Cavalcaselle is more reasonable, and admits the probability of the correctness of the attribution.

Gaddo lived under circumstances most favorable to the development of his genius, for he was an inhabitant of Florence, where art was familiar to all and was greatly encouraged, and he was, moreover, the intimate friend of Cimabue—with whom he was wont to converse often on the difficulties and intricacies of art—and of Giotto and Andrea Taffi.

Vasari has it that Andrea Taffi was his master in the art of mosaic, and that Gaddo worked under him in the baptistery of San Giovanni at Florence, executing the Prophets under the windows afterward quite independently, and thereby getting for himself much fame. Milanesi and Cavalcaselle think it improbable that Taffi should have been his master, as the two men were almost of the same age. Neither do they attribute the Prophets to Gaddo.

But here again the hypercritic betrays himself; for when we consider the state of art education in Italy at that time, and that what Taffi had to teach Gaddo was mainly the technical processes of mosaic work, the equality of age is no objection to the relation of master and pupil having existed between them. As to the Prophets, there is no evidence in favor of attributing them to any other man, so that we may leave them to Gaddo with as much confidence as any other work, always remembering that the influence of a new mind on an artist who was not a novice in art, in its general manifestations would inevitably produce a modification in the manner of working and conception,—or what is generally called a change of style,—and there is nothing in the mosaic work alluded to which makes it even improbable that Gaddo did it. That the style of the work differed from that of the subsequent work known to be his is no more a reason for contradicting the tradition, unless the style indicated another and a recognizable hand.

By 1308 Gaddo's reputation was such that he was summoned to Rome to finish some mosaics begun by Fra Jacobus Torriti; but these, as well as some others that he executed in the Church of St. Peter, are lost. All that remains of the work that he did during his visit is on the façade of Santa Maria Maggiore. Here remain still his four subjects from the history of the basilica, which

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Vasari praises as being finer in style and less Byzantine than any of his former works. These mosaics are:

First. The Virgin with angels appearing to St. Liberius, pope, and,

Second. Simultaneously to the patrician John, who is commanded to build a church where he will find snow the next day —it being then August.

Third. John telling his vision to the pope. He is kneeling before the pope, with three attendants kneeling behind him and a fourth holding the horses. A bishop kneels beside the pope.

Fourth. Pope Liberius drawing the plan of the basilica on the snow, surrounded by the patrician, the people, and the clergy, while the Virgin and Child appear in the sky and surrounded by angels, the miraculous snow falling down from them to form the ground on which the plan is being drawn.

The mosaics resemble those of the baptistery of Florence and the frescos in the vault of the upper church at Assisi, as well as some of those in the lower church from the history of St. Francis, with which they harmonize in the accessories and architecture. They seem to be by the same hand, resembling these in composition, in the types of head and figure, and in their style, which is a transition from that of Cimabue to that of Giotto. There are the same coarse and monotonous outlines, heavy and conventional drapery, and clumsy extremities, and the same absence of intermediate tints in both the mosaics, where it is to be expected, and in the frescos, where it is not.[1] Cavalcaselle remarks that some of the heads are the same.

Vasari notes that Gaddo was a painter as well as a mosaicist, and it is probable that he was with his friend Giotto at Assisi. Vasari apparently knew nothing of these pictures at Assisi; but he mentions a panel at Santa Maria Maggiore of Rome, now lost, and says that he painted many such for Tuscany.

[1] The principal variations which the mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore show from the Byzantine are in the greater freedom of design and originality of conception, for the execution is much less masterly than in some works of the earlier school. But the general treatment is the same —strong outlines with masses of color, unbroken by subdivisions of detail, and with very little recognition of light and shade; characters all of the best school of decorative mosaic. The mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore have been much maltreated, and in the *barocco* alterations of the church by the architect Fuga (1743) portions have been covered up and additions of subordinate figures have been made at some intermediate time. The invention shown is, as must be expected, far inferior to that of Giotto; but it is distinctly apart from the Byzantines. The colors used are the usual and limited range of the earlier school, of dull tints except the blue; and the general effect is quiet, with no indication of the perception of the capacities of color as shown by later schools.

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At Pisa, in the cathedral, is a mosaic of Gaddo's, damaged and repaired, with the Madonna rising to heaven and Christ waiting to receive her, having ready for her a splendid throne. It is in the artist's latest style.

Vasari says that, having returned to Florence, Gaddo rested from his labors, and made some mosaics of egg-shell — marvels of diligence and patience. In the Uffizi gallery at Florence there is one of these, a half-length figure of our Lord, his right hand on his breast, his left holding a book open and with a Greek inscription. The background is gilt.

Gaddo died at the age of seventy-three, and was buried in Santa Croce by his son Taddeo, the only one of all his children who became a painter. Vicino da Pisa was a worthy pupil of Gaddo. He executed some mosaics in the cathedral of his town.

According to Vasari, Taddeo painted portraits of his father and of Taffi in the chapel of the Baroncelli at Santa Croce, Florence. Vasari points out two figures preceding the players in the fresco representing the Marriage of the Virgin, of which one resembles the portrait of Taffi given by Vasari with his biography; but the other figure bears no likeness to the woodcut of Gaddo in the same book. There is a figure in the other fresco, on the right side, with a long beard and flowing hair, which is much more like Vasari's portrait of Gaddo; but the old man standing near him could hardly be Taffi, though the figure is somewhat of the same type as the one in the first fresco.

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Chapter VII

TADDEO GADDI

(Born 1300?, died 1366?)

Among the many pupils whom Giotto collected around himself, his favorite, and the one who did his teaching the most credit, was his godchild, Taddeo Gaddi. We do not know at what age Taddeo began to work independently — it was probably when Giotto left Florence for the south of Italy. In 1338 the chapel of the Baroncelli in Santa Croce was completed, but we do not know how soon Taddeo was called to paint its walls. This was his first independent work, so far as we know. The subjects he painted here are nine.[1]

In the lunette to the right of the entrance is Joachim being driven from the temple. The action is animated, but slightly exaggerated, as is often the case with this master.

In the four compartments underneath the lunette are:

1. The Meeting of Anna and Joachim.
2. The Birth of the Madonna.
3. The Madonna on the Steps of the Temple.
4. The Marriage of the Virgin.

On the other wall are:

1. The Annunciation.
2. The Meeting of Mary and Elisabeth.
3. The Angel announcing the Birth of Christ.
4. The Adoration. The Virgin, seated on the ground, is toying with the Infant; Joseph sits apart meditating.

In imitation niches are the figures of Joseph holding the flowering rod and of David holding the head of Goliath — both well pre-

[1] You say that the Baroncelli frescos are, as far as is known, Taddeo's first independent work, but that we do not know when they were painted. It seems to me unlikely that they were early work, as his style is fully developed and they show the greatest freedom of handling. C. F. Murray.

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served. The dome is divided into two compartments, in which, within circles, are the half-figures of Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, Strength, and Humility. These are among the best figures executed by any pupil of Giotto.

Besides these frescos in the Baroncelli Chapel, Taddeo painted many others in the refectory and the sacristy of the same Church of Santa Croce. On one partition (since destroyed) he executed portraits of Giotto, Dante, and himself, of which those heads now in the Bargello at Florence are possibly copies.

The frescos he painted in the cloister of Santo Spirito, mentioned by Vasari, and a panel with predella which he executed for the high altar of S. Stefano del Ponte Vecchio, have disappeared. A panel painted for Or San Michele, now in the Accademia of Florence and attributed to Taddeo, is probably by Gerini, certainly not by Taddeo (C. F. Murray).

He was called to Pisa, where he decorated with frescos the Church of S. Francesco, and Vasari notes especially the expression and vivacity of the figures. In the dome he introduced a portrait of himself, inscribed with his name and the date 1342, but this part of the decoration has perished. Until quite lately all these frescos were whitewashed.

Vasari makes Gaddi the architect of the Ponte Vecchio (built by Fra Giovanni da Campo), of the Ponte Santa Trinità, of the Loggia of Or San Michele, and of the upper part of Giotto's tower. Milanesi and Cavalcaselle deny all these statements, the former on the ground that no man was allowed to practice an art unless he were enrolled in the gild of that art,—and as we have no evidence that Taddeo was registered as an architect, they take it as proved that he was not,—except he were specially elected by public decree to carry on a work for the Commune, as we find by documentary evidence to have been the case with Giotto.

Here again it is as well, so far as the Campanile is concerned, to take Vasari as the better guide, the subject being one which, by its publicity, would be more likely to be held firmly by tradition in the popular mind. The mere want of documentary evidence in this case is of minor significance, as Taddeo's master had carried on the work, and the continuance of it by the pupil would be so natural a proceeding that it would hardly call for the special measure of formality which was required for Giotto himself; and the superintendence of the execution of the master's plans by the pupil

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might easily be accepted as the carrying out of a contract by a deputy. We should expect strong evidence to establish the fact that another than Taddeo was appointed to the work, and the lack of documentary evidence tells in favor of him until it is shown by such evidence that there was another architect put in his place, a substitution which could hardly have been made without some record remaining of it. The intrinsic probabilities in favor of Vasari's statement are so great that I feel it to be hardly disputable. A work of such great importance could hardly have been given to an unknown man or to an architect who would allow his name to be suppressed. Of all the improbabilities the most improbable is that the architect should not be known.

Taddeo, being in Florence, painted in the Mercanzia an allegory of Truth tearing out the tongue of Falsehood. This has perished. He was then called to Arezzo, where, assisted by Giovanni da Milano, he painted many frescos, among which Vasari chiefly admires a crucifixion in which a great variety of expression is introduced. Most of his work in Arezzo has disappeared; a St. John the Baptist, much injured, in the bishop's palace, is still to be seen.

Returning to Florence, he painted many pictures, which were sent all over the country, and by which he gained so much as to lay the foundations of the fortune of his family and cause it to be ennobled. Vasari says that as coadjutor of Simone Memmi he was intrusted with half of the decoration of the chapter of Santa Maria Novella,[1] and that of the walls one, with the ceiling, was given to Taddeo; but Murray says that there is no trace of either Taddeo or Simone, and that Vasari was altogether on a wrong track; but the subject is too complicated for a chapter. The ceiling he divided into four compartments, in which he painted the Resurrection, Christ saving Peter from drowning, the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. On the western wall are St. Thomas Aquinas, and the fourteen sciences, each with an appropriate figure underneath. Prophets and saints are seated on each side of St. Thomas, and the four cardinal and the three theological virtues are represented above.[2]

1 The Cappella degli Spagnuoli, formerly the chapter-house, was begun in 1320.

2 Cavalcaselle considers that these frescos were possibly designed and inspired by Taddeo, but executed by a pupil; but the probability is that the greater part of the work done by artists in those days after they had attained the degree of master was, in the actual painting, done by the pupils. This was the invariable practice in the religious schools. W. J. S.

Taddeo had nothing more to do with the Spanish Chapel than Simone. Vasari's statement is a fable from beginning to end. Cavalcaselle only admits that there is a possibility of pupils being

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In this same church Taddeo painted a St. Jerome, and under it his son Agnolo built a sepulcher covered with a marble slab bearing the arms of the family, and in this Taddeo was buried. Vasari states that Taddeo Gaddi died of a terrible fever in 1350, but there are documents extant which prove him to have bought land in 1352 and again in 1365. In 1360 he is one of the council assembled to deliberate on the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore, but in 1366 his wife's name appears as "she who was the wife of Taddeo Gaddi," so that we must conclude that he died in 1365–66. He made Jacopo di Casentino guardian of his two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni, and made them pupils of Giovanni da Milano. Vasari says that Taddeo followed the method of his master Giotto, but did not improve on it in any respect, except that his color was more vivid and fresh. As it is even to-day difficult to distinguish between the works of Giottesques, it is evident that the immediate followers of Giotto, of whom Taddeo was the chief, must have adhered to his system very closely. In fact, so much of the manner was prescription that the opportunities of escaping into an individual style were very limited, and the subjection of the art to the uses of the Church was anything but favorable to the development of artistic individuality. The pictures were wanted as a stimulus to devotion, and the primary requisite was that the sacred story should be told with pathos and with a force which would penetrate the common and inartistic mind. The artistic development came by process of nature and normal growth, because the Church could not control it.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

"MUSIC"

FLORENCE, March 1, 1888.—"Music," by Taddeo Gaddi,—or rather attributed to him, since it cannot be definitely ascertained to be by his hand,—is found in the Cappella degli Spagnuoli of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, now in the Accademia of Florence, so long attributed to Giotto. C. F. MURRAY.

employed, to get out of the difficulty, but the fact is that there is no trace of Taddeo's style, which is sufficiently marked. You notice the difficulty of distinguishing the different Giottesques; this is only the case where there is no certain ground to go on; Taddeo's manner is easy to recognize. The Baroncelli Chapel fresços are the most valuable guide; take with these the signed altarpieces of Siena and Berlin, and you will have no difficulty in recognizing as his the panels from Santa Croce,

In speaking of the difficulty to which Mr. Murray here alludes, I of course had in mind the general student; to an expert like Murray, whose supreme knowledge of technical shades of difference is recognized by the highest authorities in Europe, there may be none where an ordinary student is lost. W. J. S.

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Florence. It is one of a series of figures contained in the large fresco of the allegorical representation of the Wisdom of the Church, which adorns the left wall of the chapel as seen from the entrance. The architecture is perfectly simple: the roof is groined, supported by two intersecting pointed arches. The spaces between the ribs and the four walls beneath them are covered with frescos, the series in its movement of thought beginning on the altar wall, ascending to the space above it, and then circulating round the chapel; the subject depicted within each of the four remaining compartments of the roof symbolizing the more extended composition that expands on the wall below it. Of these the four on the roof and the whole left-hand wall are ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi, the remaining ones to Simone Memmi. The whole forms a most imposing monument of early art. The fresco on the left-hand wall, as well as that on the right, measures 36 feet long, and nearly as many feet high. The figures are life-size or perhaps larger. Elevated on a lofty throne sits St. Thomas Aquinas in state, displaying an open book, on which is inscribed, in Latin, "Wherefore I prayed and understanding was given me; I called upon God and the spirit of wisdom came to me; I preferred her before scepters and thrones." Three figures, said to be the heretics Arius, Sabellius, and Averrhoës, sit at his feet. He is attended on the right and left by saints of the Old and the New Testament. The four Cardinal and the three Theological Virtues float gracefully above him — beautiful female figures, each known by her appropriate emblem. Seated below in decorative stalls are the seven Profane and the seven Theological Sciences in the form of beautiful maidens, each with her most distinguished votary attendant at her feet. The seven Profane Sciences begin at the right hand as you face the fresco, the seven Theological at the left, and the two thus meet in the center below St. Thomas. Briefly enumerating them, I will begin with the Profane Sciences:

I. Grammar; below her, Priscian.
II. Rhetoric or Eloquence; below her, Cicero.
III. Logic; below her, Aristotle.
IV. Music; below her, Tubal Cain.
V. Astronomy; below her, Zoroaster.
VI. Geometry; below her, Euclid.
VII. Arithmetic; below her, Pythagoras.

THE THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES

I. Civil Law; below her, the Emperor Justinian.
II. Canon Law; below her, Pope Clement V. (said to be).
III. Practical Theology; below her, Peter Lombard.
IV. Speculative Theology; below her, Dionysius the Areopagite.
V. Dogmatic Theology; below her, Boethius.
VI. Mystic Theology; below her, St. John Damascenus.
VII. Polemic or Scholastic Theology; below her, St. Augustine.

The "Music" is the fourth in the series of Profane Sciences. The ornamental stall in which she is seated is similar in design to all the others. The backgrounds to all these figures have been scraped off, leaving a soapy light color. The figures are generally light and delicate in color. The drapery of the "Music" is a delicate green; the organ brownish and carefully drawn; the reddish flesh-tints are refined and harmonious. The hand upon the keys is mentioned by Ruskin as one of the loveliest things he ever saw done in painting. The maiden is singing as she plays, and the gentle inclination of her body gives a feeling of movement quite natural and in harmony with the subject. Underneath her is seated Tubal Cain with a hammer in each hand: he is striking an anvil, and his head is turned slightly and bent forward in the attitude of listening to the combination of sounds produced.

T. C.

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CHAPTER VIII

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI

(Born about 1275, died 1348)

AMONG the losses the world has to lament in the achievements of early Italian art, the most important from the historical and one of the most important from the artistic point of view is that of the greater part of the works of Lorenzetti. The few things of his which remain, principally the pictures in the town hall of Siena, show an ability as painter and an intellectual largeness which none of the painters of that day except Giotto, Duccio, and Simone rivaled, and which, in the particular vein in which religious art ran in those times, were even more subtle and mystical than those of Giotto himself. And though in the purely technical and dramatic powers which mark the universal artist and determine his rank to all time Giotto still reigns supreme, in that field which to his contemporaries was the most important—namely, the moral and didactic—Lorenzetti is as much alone. Vasari, whose own judgment in art seems to have been a very lame one, reflects the temper of an earlier and more religious time when he says:

> If, as is certain, the debt is great that artists of genius owe to nature, much greater is ours toward them, seeing that they with so much earnestness fill our cities with noble buildings and useful and beautiful compositions of histories, reaping for themselves generally great fame and riches by their work, as did Ambrogio Lorenzetti, a Sienese painter who had a great and happy invention in composing thoughtfully, and posing his figures in his histories.

He then goes on to tell of the series in which Lorenzetti tells the story of a monk who goes to the Sultan and suffers martyrdom, and in which he seems, by Ghiberti's description, to have painted some remarkable and at that day unprecedented landscape effects, in which the blowing of the wind and the falling of the rain upon

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his personages are introduced. From all that we know of art contemporary with his, this was certainly a bold and daring invention, for even Giotto never treats landscape with any suggestion of the landscape spirit. The earliest attempt at a genuine landscape effect of which I know is in one of the Pinturicchio series in the library of the Duomo at Siena, in which is represented the storm which drove the ambassador of the Pope, Piccolomini, ashore in Africa; but this was more than a hundred years after Lorenzetti, and it is pretty certain that the work of which Vasari speaks as of his personal knowledge must have been seen by Pinturicchio. We may therefore, without straining conjecture, conclude that the landscape of Lorenzetti was no more naturalistic than that of the later artist, who, with his predecessor's work before his eyes in Siena, could hardly have failed in the scope of his own, however he might in individual ability. For the rest, the exceedingly interesting treatment of a stormy sky by Pinturicchio is an important lesson in the way in which the early painters — Pinturicchio was contemporary with Raphael — treated Nature; and this is not at all in the modern or naturalistic spirit, of which, in fact, even Vasari could have known nothing, so that when he lauds Lorenzetti's landscape he may indeed be right in calling it unprecedented without rendering a judgment which to us has the same significance that it had to him.

Vasari praises Lorenzetti's technical power, and especially his treatment of fresco and tempera, which indeed were the only methods known to him. He sent a panel with a sample of his work to Volterra, Siena's nearest neighbor, and was called there to paint for the churches; thence to Massa, and to Florence, where he painted some pictures in San Procilo. Going to Cortona for another commission, he returned to Siena, where he passed the rest of his life in the highest honor in the state as painter and as man of letters. Vasari says of this part of his life:

> Thenceforward he not only associated with literati and learned men, but was also employed with much honor and utility in the affairs of the republic. His habits were always of the most praiseworthy and rather those of the gentleman and philosopher than of the artisan, and, what most showed his prudence in human affairs, he had always his mind disposed to contentment with what the world and time gave him, whence he accepted with moderation and tranquillity the good and ill of fortune.

Then the biographer goes on in the moralizing vein to which the contemplation of the character of Lorenzetti had induced him,

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with a general conclusion not much in agreement with ours of to-day:

> And truly it is impossible to say how much gentle manners and modesty, with other good moral qualities, are honorable company to all the arts, but especially to those which grow out of the intellect and noble and lofty genius — whence every one ought to make himself as acceptable by his manners as by this excellence of his art.

It is impossible to look into the world of art by any of those little peep-holes which these passages of personality give us, even in Vasari's time,— which was one of decadence in every quality of art and in most of intellect,—without seeing that the artist of the three centuries prior to the death of Michelangelo was a creature of very different influences from those which rule him to-day; was in all senses and directions a more serious, more largely developed, and more widely affiliated man than the men who rule the taste of to-day. The excessive and exclusive study of nature not only has narrowed and lowered art, but in so doing has restricted the field in which the greater intellects of the time can find a satisfactory range of activity. A man like Lorenzetti coming into the world to-day would be more likely to be in the pulpit or the professorial chair; the value of art as a moral or an intellectual lever is too little to-day to call his enthusiasm into its channels. He was a teacher, and allegory was in his day the form in which the moralities reached the world with most power. Though his works have mostly perished, those which remain in the council room of the town hall of Siena will show how he felt his art. He painted great allegories where Justice, Concord, and Peace were presented to the common mind with all the force of moral law. Justice is a crowned and royally robed woman on a golden throne, looking up to Wisdom, who stands above with a balance in her right hand and a book in her left; Justice, reaching out, holds the balance in equilibrium. From the right scale of the balance comes a winged genius who places a crown on the head of one man of two before it while decapitating the other, thus rewarding good and evil deeds. Another genius in the other scale gives a sword and a lance to one man and a box of money to his companion. The former is called Distributive Justice, the latter Compensatory. Under Justice sits crowned a richly appareled woman holding on her knees a plane with two handles where is written "Concordia." She holds two cords which pass through the hands of twenty-four

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persons, evidently well-disposed citizens, and thence to a gray-bearded man on the right, who sits on a bench above some others,— probably the symbol of the government of the city,— Civic Rule[1] being crowned. He is robed in a black and white mantle, those being the colors of Siena, with a vest covered with pearls and precious stones, and holds a scepter in his right hand to which the cords are attached. In his left he holds a shield with a Madonna and Child and the arms of Siena. Above him are the virtues, theological, moral, and civil, with a long metrical inscription— probably the painter's. This is an explanation which needs a commentary, and is not easy of translation. It runs as follows:

Questa santa virtu la dove regge
Induce ad unita le animi molti,
E questi a cio ricolti
Ma ben comune per lor signor si fanno,
Lo qual per governar suo stato elegge
Di non tener gia mai gli occhi rivolti
Da lo splendore de volti
Delle Virtu che turno [intorno] a lui si danno.
Per questo con trionfo a lui si stanno:
Censi tributi e signorie de terre.
Per questo senza guerre
Seguita poi ogni civili effetto
Utile necessario e di diletto.

(TRANSLATION)

This holy virtue where it rules
Draws to unity the many minds,
And these to that intent collected
Work for their lord[2] the general good,
And he to rule his state elects
Never to turn his eyes away
From the splendor of the faces
Of the Virtues ranged around him.
For this with triumph come to him:
Praises, tributes, and lordship of lands.
For this, without wars,
Follows all civic influence
Useful, necessary, and delightful.

The school of Lorenzetti has left many works from which the characteristics of his art may be seen, and his elder brother Pietro,

[1] Above the head are inscribed the letters C. S. C. V.— Comunis Senensis Civitas Virginis.
[2] The graybeard shown in the picture.

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though less celebrated and esteemed in their own day, was one of the eminent painters of the Sienese school. There is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts a picture of the school and by one of Ambrogio's scholars, who, though not known by name, is recognizable by his style. It preserves the quaint architectural framing and decorative accessories which were inherent in all work of that epoch from the Byzantine down to Masaccio, during which time painting was in the estimation of its patrons, the clergy, simply ecclesiastical furniture, a consideration which explains why the pictures were so frequently repainted, or even simply renewed by whitewashing. Whatever might have been the ideas of the artists, the clergy were until a late period in the Renaissance utterly indifferent to the artistic merit of their decoration, and the period of enlightenment was of brief duration.

Lorenzetti is supposed to have died in the plague of 1348.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE Madonna and Child of Ambrogio Lorenzetti is in the sacristy chapel of the Church of S. Francesco, Siena. Being underneath the little window of the chapel and covered with glass, it is not in a very favorable light; but toward the afternoon, when the sun shines in upon the white walls of the place, it is seen to better advantage by the reflected light. It is painted upon a panel, in tempera, and measures about thirty or thirty-two inches high by eighteen or twenty inches wide. In my reproduction of it I have cut off a portion of the Gothic point, in order to get the figures larger upon the block; so by continuing the sloping lines of each side to a point you have the shape of the original.

I first saw a photograph of this picture at the studio of Mr. Murray in Florence, who referred to it as the finest and best-preserved of all this master's works. It is soft and rich in coloring. The background and glories are gilded, the latter being elaborately and delicately worked. The robe of the Madonna, which falls down from her head, is of a rich dark blue with a border of soft brown. Her breast and her sleeve are of a fine soft tone of red. The rest of her garment. showing underneath the Child, is of some deep tone of green or blue. The white veil or linen around her head and falling over her breast is finely contrasted with the mellow tones of the flesh. The drapery of the Child is of a yellowish tone, and blends very harmoniously with the color of his skin. The whole is a warm and pleasing combination of color, and forms one of the finest examples in this respect of the Sienese school. There is a dignified air of tenderness in the Madonna, and the soul of the mother is seen in the way she holds her Child. It is the most motherly Madonna I have seen. And how true a child it is, with both its little hands clasped about the breast! Something has attracted its attention, and it instinctively strikes this attitude as it endeavors to glance around, which gives the crescent form to the white of the eye and which many a father has no-

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ticed, especially in his first-born, under like circumstances. It is this which arrests the attention of the beholder and fixes it upon the main object of interest. It is a perfectly natural expression in an infant, and, selected and portrayed in a picture such as the present, it assumes a singular air of importance, and suggests in a most artless manner the supernatural character of the Child.

An excellent work by Lorenzetti is in the Gallery of the Belle Arti, Florence — "The Presentation in the Temple," one of his very finest works, and from which I should have selected a detail had not the picture in Siena presented the advantage of giving a full-page illustration, and so disposing of the necessity for cutting out a detail, always a painful thing to have to do.

T. C.

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Chapter IX

ORCAGNA (ANDREA DI CIONE)

(Born 1308, died 1368)

Whatever difficulty there might be in determining the relative position of Giotto and Duccio, the contemporary chiefs of the Florentine and Sienese schools, through the unfortunate destruction of the work of the latter, there should be no question as to the rank of Orcagna; and if we do not put him higher than either of the other great painters mentioned, it is because the general progress of art had made it possible for him to do what a greater mind could not do in the state of the arts in which Giotto found them; and we might give him credit for what was due purely to the general development. But of all those who follow in the succession of time and work Orcagna stands, like Saul, head and shoulders above the crowd — great in all the great qualities of art.

Andrea di Cione was the second of four brothers, all architects, sculptors, or painters, though the others were incomparably his inferiors. In his lifetime he was known as Arcagnolo, of which Orcagna is a corruption. He was at once painter, sculptor, architect, and master in every branch of art, and had so thoroughly assimilated Giotto's great maxims that he took painting where that master left it and carried it on to new triumphs.

Orcagna came to the front in a time when art had greatly degenerated in the hands of the Giottesques, and by recurring to the principles on which Giotto had founded his art, with the aid of all the light that the rival school of Siena threw upon it and a profoundly original insight into nature,— a healthy objective imagination,— he raised his school from what seems like the Byzantine conventionalism of his immediate predecessors. This is the

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dangerous tendency of all subjective art, to drop into formalities and conventional iteration.

Orcagna was by nature versatile, and had he lived in an era when nature asserted the influence over art which it exercised in the later schools, he certainly would have ranked among the greatest painters of that age. Vasari says that Stefano Fiorentino and Giottino surpassed Giotto in perspective; but Orcagna deserves this praise far more than they, for, owing to his studious scrutiny of Nature, he was better able to conquer the difficulties of rendering her. In his frescos we find the figure drawn and foreshortened with much boldness, and they bear the impress of his genius far more clearly than do his panels, though unfortunately, like most frescos of the fourteenth century, they have suffered much from the ravages of time—enough of them remaining, however, to enable a critic to judge of the artist's power.

Vasari mentions Andrea Pisano as the master of Orcagna, and the tabernacle of Or San Michele makes the statement probable. It would have been impossible to find any teacher fitter to train, in that severe style which his work developed, a man of such comprehensive genius as Orcagna; and it is perhaps in part due to the influence of sculpture on the general evolution of painting that Orcagna's pictures possess the measure of plastic quality, unprecedented at that time, which he shows. It has been remarked that the sculptors of the centuries from the twelfth to the fifteenth were in advance of the painters; and in fact it was not until the Venetian genius became an element in the art of Italy that the balance was restored. It is only necessary to compare the work of old Niccola Pisano with any contemporary painting to see how far beyond the painters of his day that sculptor was in the perception and expression of the essentials of art — apart from color. The dealing with forms as they are felt, and not as they seem, is characteristic of all genuine art, and this was the character of Niccola's work. Who was Orcagna's master in painting is neither certain nor important, for the art education of that epoch was so "all round" that the passing from one branch of it to another was not a difficult matter. The world of Florence breathed an atmosphere of art, by which even Dante was greatly influenced.

What Orcagna did beyond the attainment of the sculpturesque qualities of painting was to unite with the Florentine traditions something of the elements of Sienese art, then in its fullest vigor.

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Cavalcaselle says that he united the dramatic qualities of Florentine art with the more vivid coloring of the Sienese school; but it is difficult to accept any such distinction, for what Giotto had shown of dramatic power could hardly be said to have been handed down to the Giottesques, whose work remaining to us is mainly tame repetition of Giotto's types. The Florentine school was in decadence when Orcagna came on the stage, and he naturally turned for comparisons to Siena, where art had not been thus depressed, and as the works of Duccio were then accessible, he came under the influence of Giotto's great rival and his own only other great predecessor.

Sacchetti makes mention of a banquet given by a number of artists at San Miniato, where, much wine having been drunk, Orcagna proposed the question, Who was the greatest painter after Giotto? That the jury disagreed is tolerably certain, as well as that the palm was not then awarded to Orcagna himself, though he had then executed his principal frescos—the entire chief chapel of Santa Maria Novella, besides the retrochoir and the altarpiece in the same church. In 1357 we find as members of the commission of architects and painters summoned to decide on the completion of the Duomo of Florence, Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi, and six other painters. After repeated trials and competitions the model of Orcagna was accepted. In 1358 he was called to Orvieto to design the mosaics for the ornamentation of the façade of the cathedral there,—a church destined to commemorate the miracle of the mass of Bolsena,—in which it was intended to employ the highest talent of the day.

We have no clue as to the time when Orcagna painted the retrochoir of Santa Maria Novella. Baldinucci mentions the fact of his pictures there having been injured by a storm in 1358, and a century later Ghirlandaio repainted them and repeated many of the subjects treated by his predecessors. The altarpiece of the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella was painted in 1357, but it is not known whether the frescos in the Strozzi Chapel were executed before or after that date. The first, representing the Last Judgment, occupies the partition behind the altar. The Christ appears in an oblong aureole, half hidden by clouds, surrounded by rays, and with his arms outstretched. Three angels on each side play on musical instruments and hold the symbols of the passion, while the Virgin and St. John kneel lower down, gazing at the Saviour in adoration,

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each with six apostles seated on the clouds behind them. Below are patriarchs, prophets, saints, kings, and popes, and a group of women dancing for joy. In one corner an angel helps one of the elect to leave his tomb. The elect looks steadfastly toward Paradise, which is painted on the wall to the right. Sinners tear their hair and gnash their teeth, and a demon is dragging off a lost soul to Hell, which is painted on the wall to the left, opposite the Paradise.

The expression of the Christ in the "Last Judgment" is noble, and that of the Virgin is sweet and gracious, while St. John is thin and austere. The apostles are grave and majestic. These are the best-preserved portions of the fresco. The group of dancing women is most graceful in design and action, and may be looked upon as the original conception of the heavenly dances which so delight us in the pictures of Beato Angelico. In this splendid composition Orcagna has scrupulously obeyed the laws of composition then recognized; the fingers are well proportioned and full of movement, and the foreshortening is masterly.

In the "Paradise" the Saviour and the Virgin, crowned and surrounded by aureoles, are seated on a throne upheld by clouds. On each side are angels, cherubim, and seraphim in adoration. Below the throne are two angels singing and playing, and on each side of them stand saints and martyrs, apostles and prophets, each carrying the symbol of his or her martyrdom, and accompanied by a guardian angel playing, singing, or praying. On the clouds are men and women dancing, while an angel invites a woman to take part.

The "Hell" has been entirely repainted, and we can hardly guess at the original design.[1]

Under these three frescos is a false base, painted in imitation of white marble, and surrounded by a frame. It is upheld by columns, between which are painted busts in chiaroscuro. On the ceiling are figures of various saints, the symbols of the four Evangelists, and the arms of the Strozzi. The stained window was probably designed also by Orcagna.

This chapel must have been decorated before 1354, the date on which Orcagna received the commission to paint the altarpiece for Tommaso di Rosselli. Part of the agreement was that the picture should be completed within a year and eight months, but we learn

[1] I should not say that the "Hell" has been so repainted as to interfere with the design; it seems to have been gone over with some care, though unfortunately very thoroughly. C. F. MURRAY.

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that Orcagna failed to comply with the contract. The panel is in five parts, with a predella. In the center, surrounded by an oval ring of cherubim and seraphim, sits the Christ, offering with his right hand the gospel to St. Thomas Aquinas, and with his left the key to St. Peter. The two kneel before him, the former presented by the Virgin, at whose right stand St. Catherine and St. Michael; the latter by St. John the Baptist, with St. Paul and St. Laurence on his left. The predella is painted with three legends: a priest in ecstasy before the altar, Christ saving Peter on the waves, and a dispute between St. Michael and a demon for the soul of a dead king.

In this work there is much energy and vivacity of action, and the color is clear and vivacious, but there is not the mastery which we find in Orcagna's frescos. The same is the case with his other easel-paintings; for example, the panel in Santa Maria del Fiore, representing St. Zenobius, patron of the city of Florence, treading under foot Pride and Cruelty, while Charity and Humility hold a canopy over his throne, and two minor saints kneel on each side.

The painting, attributed to Orcagna, which once hung in S. Pietro Maggiore in Florence is now in the National Gallery of London.[1] The central panel represents the Madonna being crowned; two angels stand beside her, and ten others kneel before her, playing on various instruments. On the side panels are twenty-four saints kneeling, among them St. Peter, holding on his knees the model of the Church of S. Pietro Maggiore designed by Orcagna.

In 1355 he set to work on the Church of Or San Michele, one of the noblest examples of architecture, sculpture, and mosaic of the day, completed 1359. The bas-reliefs here show that Orcagna was even a better sculptor than painter. They are full of energy and delicacy, and possess the grandeur of composition and grace of type which distinguish his frescos.

In 1364 and 1366 we find Orcagna again called in to give his advice on the completion of the Duomo. Vasari says that he lived till 1389; but this is certainly incorrect, for in 1376 we find one Ristori named guardian to his two daughters, Tessa and Romola. The last certain date concerning him is 1368, in which year he was dangerously ill.

[1] It is always assumed that this picture came from S. Pietro Maggiore, but it bears no trace of the hand of Orcagna—it is poor even for a pupil. It is not altered by restoration, but on the contrary is in excellent preservation, which is its only merit. C. F. MURRAY.

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According to Vasari, Orcagna painted in the Campo Santo of Pisa the great frescos of the "Triumph of Death" and the "Universal Judgment"; but this assertion is open to doubt, if indeed not certainly wrong. Modern research has shown that some of the frescos are by Andrea di Florentia,[1] a painter who lived some years longer than Orcagna. It is more than probable that Vasari confused the two painters, and, not knowing which frescos this Andrea had painted, chose these two without considering whether the style and technical execution were attributable to Orcagna.

It is very probable that Nardo Cione, elder brother to Orcagna, was his assistant in many of his labors, and that even in executing commissions on his own account Nardo got help from the younger brother, who was the artistic head of the family. It is quite natural that both Nardo and Jacopo, painting with Andrea, should follow his style, both in painting on his frescos and in their own works. This is the case in the frescos in Santa Croce and the Badia of Florence, in which we recognize the conception of Orcagna, but not his execution. Another follower of Orcagna, to whom may be attributed many of the paintings wrongly considered to be by his master, is Niccolo Tommaso, who took part with Orcagna and Taddeo Gaddi in the council of painters consulted about the Duomo.

In dramatic conception Orcagna can hardly be said to rival Giotto; but without in any way falling into the modern manner of following Nature through the use of the model, it is certain that he had a far more delicate perception of her beauty than any of his predecessors, and some of the female heads in the Spanish chapel are not surpassed in subtile spiritual qualities by anything in later art, certainly not by anything of Fra Angelico's; while in plastic qualities—in the modeling of the heads and flesh—they are far beyond the suggestions of any of his contemporaries or predecessors.

Orcagna, as we have seen, designed the mosaics for the façade of the duomo of Orvieto, but they have long been replaced by more modern work, and even the designs have perished, for I could find no trace of them in the archives of the cathedral.[2]

1 Andrea di Florentia painted the frescos attributed to Memmi. C. F. MURRAY.

2 Since this article was written one of the original mosaics has turned up in the shop of an antiquary in Rome, having been preserved by the mosaic works which had the charge of renewing the mosaics of the façade, a hundred years ago, and has been purchased by the Museum of South Kensington. It is the "Nativity of the Virgin," replaced by a copy following closely the original design, which is over the left-hand door of the cathedral. W. J. S.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

ORCAGNA'S fresco of the "Last Judgment," from which the detail of the kneeling figure of the Virgin is taken, is represented above and on the sides of the window of the Strozzi Chapel in the north transept of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Above is seen the Son of Man in glory, half of his figure visible above the clouds, that portion surrounded by light almond or heart aureole, from which radiate sharper beams. His head is crowned with the celestial diadem, and encircled by a golden nimbus in which appears the figure of the cross. His aspect is full of majesty and grave almost to sadness, as with his left hand he condemns the wicked, turning softly from them with a glance and action befitting the words "Depart from me." His right hand is less consciously extended in blessing toward the good. The fresco thence extends downward on each side of the window, terminating at the dado, and is symmetrical in its distribution, side answering to side. Issuing from the clouds on each side below Christ are his attendant angels sounding the trumpet of the dead and exhibiting the emblems of the crucifixion — three on each side. Below these, seated upon the clouds, are the apostles, six on each side in two rows of three each; preceding the group on the left of Christ is John the Baptist, kneeling in adoration; and in like attitude preceding the group on the right of Christ is the Virgin, — the subject of the engraving, — her countenance full of veneration and as though inspired. Underneath these groups, and separated by the thick bright cloud on which the apostles sit, is shown the "Resurrection," which occupies the lower portion of the fresco. The condemned represent the rich and powerful wicked ones of the earth, and are made up of kings and emperors, popes and cardinals, princes and princesses, arch heretics, false prophets, and the like. Among the blessed on the right hand of Christ are kings and princes, popes and cardinals, martyrs and saints, and the poor of this world, rich in faith, among whom the head of Dante in profile appears unmistakable, his hands together as in prayer, looking up toward the Virgin. How beautiful is the action of her hands, and what an unconscious expression of purity there is about her countenance! The peculiar adjustment of the veil over the chin and forehead and about the neck seems to be a favorite fashion with Orcagna. Fra Angelico sometimes uses the same costume. The background to the Virgin is a deep blue.

THE detail of the group of women is from Orcagna's fresco of "Paradise," which adorns the entire western wall of the same chapel. It measures about twenty-six feet wide by about thirty-three feet high, not including the frescoed border or frame which runs around it. The top is arched and terminates at the ceiling of the chapel. It is disposed into three divisions, running from top to bottom, which are filled in the following manner: In the upper portion of the central division (which measures seven and a half feet wide) are seated Christ and the Virgin Mary side by side — the Virgin upon the right hand of Christ — upon a magnificent throne. They are colossal in size, being about three times larger than the other figures about them. This occupies about fifteen feet down of the middle division. Underneath this and down for about ten feet is a clear space, in the center of which are two angels upon the clouds. One is playing upon a viol, and the other is in an attitude of adoration, looking up toward the throne. Below this is the company

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of the redeemed men and women, in the dress of the times—from which the detail is taken. The divisions on each side of this central one are filled from top to bottom with the saints and angels of heaven, twelve rows each and seven in a row, an angel and a saint alternately, but the two lower rows on each side are of female saints only. Most of them are distinguishable by the emblems which they bear. In front of the lower row of the right-hand division an angel is seen leading a woman to join the central group of the redeemed, who seem to be about forming into a stately dance. These figures measure about five and a half feet high. The figures become larger as they near the top, and approach the colossal forms of Christ and the Virgin. The coloring is a delightful play of cool gray tones, enlivened here and there with sweet clear bits, the whole delicate and unobtrusive and yet gay in its tints, with shimmerings of golden halos around the heads of the saints, which are engraved in rays radiating from the center. A finer wall-decoration could not well be conceived. Wonderful and magnificent as this is, it is not the thing that would appeal to the ordinary tourist, who, unfortunately, has no time to lose, and gets not a glimmer of its beauty. One must come prepared to see it in a calm state of mind, and ready to devote at least two hours to it. The morning light is the best, for then the sun shines upon the opposite wall and reflects a pleasant glow over all. The attitudes of the figures are graceful; they have a noble bearing and a quiet dignity, and their faces are sweet and refined, expressing in some instances a glow of subdued rapture.

T. C.

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Chapter X

SPINELLO ARETINO

(Born 1330–6, died 1410)

In Spinello we have at least the satisfaction of a clear artistic genealogy which goes back to Giotto. He was the pupil, properly apprenticed, of Jacopo di Casentino, who was the pupil of Taddeo Gaddi, the pupil of Giotto. Jacopo was one of the founders of the Company of Painters of Florence, a similar association to that which we have noticed[1] as having at an early date been founded in Siena, and, like the Sienese, the Florentine Company was the outgrowth of the religious feeling characteristic of the time as well as of its art. The preamble of their constitution was the expression of the sentiment of the masses of the people of Florence as much as of the Company of Painters:

> As it is our understanding that during this perilous pilgrimage on earth we should have St. Luke the Evangelist for our special advocate before God and the most blessed Virgin, and that at the same time his followers should be pure and without sin, we order that all who subscribe themselves members of this company, be they men or women, shall confess their sins or show that they intend doing so at the first opportunity, etc.

The dates for the biography of the artists of this epoch are mainly to be found in the records of work done, in the entries of the books of convents and of communes, and in contracts preserved by chance from the ravages of war and from the consumption of parchment by the gold-beaters. Of Spinello, as of others whom I have dealt with, we know little else than what comes to us in this way; but that little shows how wide were his range of influence

[1] See article on Duccio.

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and his reputation. That his early literary education was much neglected by his father, we know from the scraps of Latin that he left, for they are curiously incorrect for one who must be supposed to have read the Bible continually for his subjects. His love of painting, however, led to his being put early to study under Jacopo di Casentino, and his perseverance and talent were such that, by the time he was twenty years old, according to Vasari (who had a weakness for prodigies), he had surpassed his teacher. His early productions show also the influence of Bernardo Daddi,[1] one of the most eminent of the Giottesques, whose work is contemporary with that of Taddeo Gaddi, and who, though conventional in design and somewhat heavy in color, shows a certain sense of proportion and facility in the draping of his figures. Besides possessing these good qualities of his masters, Spinello manifested more freedom and energy in his story-telling, and was perhaps the best of Giotto's followers at the end of the fourteenth century, excelling all his contemporaries in vivacity of coloring and largeness of execution. His frescos, as is frequently the case in this period, are more interesting than his easel-pictures, owing probably in part to the fact that the latter were often intrusted to his pupils, but mainly to the fact that his style was better suited to a large scale. Very few of his works are dated.

It is probable that Spinello accompanied his master Jacopo to Florence about the year 1347, and that they worked together there in decorating the church Santa Maria Novella with many legends of the Virgin and of St. Antonio. Very little remains of these paintings, a few figures only having been discovered under the coating of whitewash with which they were subsequently covered, and even those in very bad preservation. Vasari tells of frescos painted in various other churches of Florence, but no trace of them remains, save in San Miniato.[2]

After the democratic revolution at Arezzo, about 1360, Spinello was called thither by the governing body of citizens to decorate

[1] It is a fact that Spinello's earliest frescos exhibit his own manner completely developed, and it is therefore difficult to say that he shows any influence except that of Jacopo di Casentino, from whom his style is clearly derived. C. F. MURRAY.

As Cavalcaselle is authority for the recognition of the influence of Daddi, I leave the sentence as originally written. W. J. S.

[2] The frescos from the history of St. Cecilia and St. Urban, in the sacristy of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, which were discovered in 1858 and are attributed by Baedeker to Spinello, are now thought to be the work of his master, Jacopo di Casentino, in which Spinello assisted. The same relation no doubt existed in the work which has been mentioned as formerly in Santa Maria Novella. (See Encyclopædia Britannica, article "Spinello Aretino.") EDITOR.

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several churches. In S. Francesco he executed an Annunciation, which is considerably damaged by the damp and by retouching; and near it have recently been discovered, under the whitewash, remains of another fresco, evidently by the same hand, representing a bishop and a figure holding a young child. In the chapel of St. Michael he painted a fantastic composition of the archangel driving Lucifer from heaven.[1] The evil spirits are in the form of hideous serpents. This fresco was afterward repeated by him in the same city for the gild of St. Angelo. On the other wall of the chapel is the vision of Pope Gregory when Michael appeared to him. In a shrine over the gate of the Misericordia is a Trinity, which Vasari praises very highly. In Spinello's own shop are a half-figure of the Virgin and a Christ crucified, with wings, as he appeared to St. Francis. In 1361 Spinello painted a panel for the Abbey of the Camaldolesi in the Casentino. The side-pieces of an altarpiece painted for the altar of Monte Oliveto Maggiore of Chiusi, illustrating the life and martyrdom of various saints, are to be found, according to Cavalcaselle, at Cologne in the Ramboux Collection, which is now a part of the public gallery at Cologne, bearing the names of the builder and carver of the frame,[2] and the date MCCCLXXXV.

In 1384, Arezzo having been sacked, Spinello took refuge in Florence with his family, among whom was his son Parri, who painted with him. There, in the sacristy of San Miniato, Spinello painted scenes from the life of St. Benedict. They are, according to Cavalcaselle, very much in the manner of Giotto, though in attitude and expression they reveal a slight influence from the Sienese school.

Spinello's fame was now great, and he was soon after called to Pisa to fill in the empty spaces in the Campo Santo there. He set to work in 1391. In one compartment was represented the legend of St. Ephesius, who, being sent by Diocletian at the head of an army to persecute the Christians, was converted by a vision of Christ and turned his forces against the heathen of Sardinia. St. Michael gave him the banner which afterward became the standard of the Pisans. Ephesius was condemned to the stake, from which

1 A fragment of this fresco is in the National Gallery. W. J. S.

2 The frames of these altarpieces were generally complicated architectural designs comprising many separate subjects. I have mentioned heretofore a capital example in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. (See "The Century" for February, 1889, p. 543.) W. J. S.

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is a variety of gay and cheerful life — neighing horses, barking dogs, chivalric men and graceful women, with dwarfs, monkeys, asses, camels, and tigers. Doves circle in the air above and play at mating, at which the men look up in smiling interest. The guiding star rests above the Child. The ornamentation of the garments and halos is indescribably rich and delicate, being both embossed and incised, and in places in exceeding high relief, as, for instance, in the crown of the figure behind the one kneeling and in the curious hat upon the ground. The details are worked out with the greatest possible minuteness; every individual pebble on the ground is separately painted, and if you get near enough you can see the grain of the wood in the manger delicately and beautifully laid in. I did not discover this until after I had engraved it, which I did on a dull day; but when, upon a bright day, I again viewed it through my glass I discovered — to my mortification — the delicate graining and the knots in the wood, which only a few feet distant appeared a flat, smooth color, as in my engraving; for though the details are so carefully worked in, the effect is broad. The halos of gold around the heads are especially rich and delicate. I could make no attempt to get in the wealth of ornament there ingrained. The color of the whole is very rich — the Madonna's robe being a middle tone of blue; that of Joseph an agreeable yellow of a lighter tone; that of the maid next him a rich deep purple; that of the kneeling figure a rich purplish-brown, with gold worked through it, and the whole incised, which gives depth and softness, while the other portion of the garment of this figure is worked in the same way with whitish tints mingled with gold. This is very curious and beautiful work. In the gold border of the garment colored stones were inset, which are now broken off. Over the arches which frame the picture — three in number — are three medallions, built in with the frame and forming a part of it, one over each arch. These are busts of prophets, except the middle one, which represents God the Father. On each side of the medallions are reclining figures, similar in position to the "Night and Day" of Michelangelo, and above each one is a sitting figure, so that a triangular form is given to the space above each arch; and finally the separate parts of the frame terminate above each in an ornamental point. The predella, or base of the picture, comprised "The Nativity," 24 by 10 inches; "The Flight into Egypt," 36 by 10 inches; and "The Presentation in the Temple," 24 by 10 inches. The last of these is now in the Louvre at Paris. "The Flight into Egypt" is the central panel. The Madonna is seated upon the ass, and conducted by Joseph; a servant follows; it is evening, and the sun is setting in a clear blue sky over a rich and charming landscape. There is a golden ball in relief. This, being burnished, shines where the light touches it. The leaves of the burdened fruit-trees, and the hills, are illumined with touches of gold mingled with delicate tones of yellow and orange, with cooler shades interspersed, and the realistic effect of sunlight is delightful. A city in sunlight rises in the distance.

T. C.

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Chapter XII

FRA ANGELICO (FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE)

(Born 1387, died 1455)

The name of Fra Angelico stands with a large portion of the art-loving public as the synonym of the highest attainment in religious art which the world has ever seen. And while, in a certain sense, I am not disposed to contest this judgment, though I believe it not to be founded on strictly artistic standards, it is necessary to give Fra Angelico his true place in the series of great painters, the final result of whose united teachings we perceive only in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In imaginative power and in dramatic feeling he never approaches Giotto, Orcagna, Gentile da Fabriano, or even Spinello, of his own school: he is also inferior to Duccio and Lorenzetti of the Sienese; while in color he has a constant straining in the pitch which wearies the eye, but is, without doubt, the result of that ecstatic temperament to which he owes the peculiar gifts which separate him by a wide space from all his predecessors and contemporaries. I cannot resist the conviction that in Fra Angelico the ordinary action of the imagination was superseded by the most complete visionary subjectivity, and that what he painted was what he saw in the spirit. The seraphic glow, the unearthly serenity of his assemblages and the fixedness of the new type of beauty which he introduces, the rapture of his "Paradise" and the tameness of his "Inferno," the constant tension of his faculties, and the very monotony of his conceptions, are to my mind the evidence of a state of exaltation in which the visions of his ecstasy became the subjects of his art. And in the height of this exaltation and in the intensity of its

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vision are the compensations for the narrowness of his range and the feebleness of his grasp of ordinary human nature. I have no doubt that convent life and its morbid seclusion deepened greatly the groove in which he ran, and I think that a proof of it is in the larger naturalism which his work took on when he went to Orvieto, where, with his pupil Benozzo, whose artistic nature was totally unlike his own, he painted the most vigorous and robust frescos we have by him.[1] And this breath of a more vigorous life, which to his morbidly sensitive spirit must have been a stimulant too powerful to be long endured, was possibly the reason for his abandonment of his work with his contract unfulfilled, and for his subsequent withdrawal from the work assigned to him at Prato, referred to farther on. The epithet "Angelic" was probably due to the belief that he was in communion with the angelic world; and that he himself had the fullest persuasion that his work was inspired is clear from his habit of never retouching a line once made, under the conviction that it was so ordered of God[2]—a habit noticed by Vasari in the quotation given on page 87. The world for which he worked was hardly capable of finding the motive for the epithet in the artistic qualities of the painter, but it would naturally come from the persuasion of his being inspired and habitually in the presence of angels.

His long residence in Rome subsequently would not militate against the theory of this morbid sensitiveness, for he was of such devotional temper that residence in Rome was the next thing to being in heaven itself, and the opportunities for monastic seclusion were as complete as in Florence. We owe to this conviction of the inspiration of his work one of his most precious technical qualities —the certainty of his touch and the purity of his lines; but in other technical attainments he does not seem to have advanced materially beyond the Giottesques, of whom he was the last to observe the doctrines in their purity, and he is inferior even to Orcagna, his immediate father in art, in knowledge of light and shade and perspective, in which term the painters of that epoch included not merely linear, but relief and aërial perspective. The pure subjectivity of his vision is seen in the "Last Judgment,"—from which

[1] I should myself prefer his Vatican frescos in the Chapel of Nicholas V. to all others, but even here the superiority may be due to a larger range of subject, for it must be remembered that he had no similar opportunity at Florence. C. F. MURRAY.

[2] This sounds to me like pure Vasari invention. C. F. MURRAY.

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Mr. Cole has engraved one of the most exquisite portions,—where we see the blessed, all of one type; if they had been painted from the model, one would say that one model had served for all the heads. This was the flaming up into unexampled brilliancy and purity of the ecstatic school of art which began with Giotto — the flaming up of the sacred candle in the socket before it goes out.

Fra Angelico was born near the castle of Vicchio, not far from Vespignano, the birthplace of Giotto, and at the age of twenty entered the order of Dominicans, being received into the new convent at Fiesole; but as the monastery was not yet fit for occupation, he was sent *ad interim* by the blessed Lorenzo da Ripafratta, master of the novices, to Cortona, where with his brother, who entered into the monastic life at the same time, he was under religious instruction, and took the vows in 1408. As the record of his reception into the convent refers to him as already a painter of some reputation and having done noteworthy work, it is most probable that he had previously received such instruction as he had in art.

As all the work which Fra Angelico did in Cortona, with the exception of the lunette in fresco over the door of the church of St. Dominic, is of his earlier style, it is likely that the ten years between the time of his taking the vows and his return to the convent at Fiesole in 1418 were passed at Cortona, the single work above excepted probably having been done about 1438, on one of his journeys to Rome, those being the only occasions on which he was away from his monastery.[1]

During the occupation of Cortona by the French,[2] the frescos in the convent of St. Dominic, probably the first that Fra Angelico painted, were destroyed. Besides the lunette already mentioned as having been executed at a later period, and which remains over the door, the church possessed an altarpiece representing the Madonna and Child surrounded by angels; also a panel with the Annunciation, with scenes, in the predella, from the life of the Virgin, which was transferred to the church of the Gesù. In the same church is a gradino painted by Fra Angelico in his earliest style, with scenes from the life of St. Dominic, originally in the church of that saint, and, according to Cavalcaselle, showing the influence

[1] Lord Lindsay ("Christian Art," Vol. II., p. 224) says that "Fra Angelico seems to have resided in most of the Dominican establishments between Florence and Rome." There does not seem to be any ground for this conclusion, unless he means to say that the artist divided his life between Rome and Florence.

[2] During the wars of the French republic, 1789–1805.

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of the art of the Florentine school most markedly, confirming the opinion that the painter had begun his studies before his novitiate.

After his return to Fiesole, Fra Angelico lived there absorbed in his art and existing for it alone, for the state of the outer world was such that no spiritually minded man could endure it. Schisms and feuds within the Church, wars and invasions and civic discord without, the Renaissance already undermining the traditions of the art of Giotto and the purists—all these must have made the ecstatic of Fiesole content with the silence and seclusion of his convent. We know nothing of the details of his life at this time. Of the pictures executed during it we know the "Annunciation" of St. Alexander of Brescia (1432), and the tabernaculum painted for the corporation of flax merchants (1433), where the painter represented the Virgin and Child surrounded by twelve angels of exquisite beauty playing on various instruments. On the sides of the doors are saints, and on the predella are the Adoration of the Magi, St. Peter preaching, with St. Mark taking notes of his sermon, and the persecutors of the latter in a storm at sea.

In the refectory of his monastery he painted a life-size Crucifixion, the Virgin and St. John at the sides and St. Dominic kneeling at the foot of the cross, which he embraces. In the chapter-house of the convent is a Madonna and Child much damaged by restoration, and the altarpiece of the chapel represents a Virgin and Child enthroned and surrounded by various saints. The predella belonging to it, according to Cavalcaselle one of the most happy productions of the artist, is in the National Gallery, London. The "Coronation of the Virgin," now in the Louvre, was formerly in St. Dominic.

It is probable that during this period Fra Angelico executed the thirty-five little pictures for the doors of the cupboard[1] belonging to the sacristy of the Santissima Annunziata at Florence, now in the Academy of Florence. They were ordered by Piero de' Medici, and illustrate several scenes from the life of the Saviour and from the Last Judgment.

The next noted date in the life of Fra Angelico is that of 1436, when the monastery of St. Mark in Florence was given to the Dominicans by Pope Eugene IV., and Fra Angelico left his cell at Fiesole to live in Florence. Cosimo de' Medici had the monastery

[1] You have not noticed that three of the panels of this cupboard are not by Fra Angelico—the Transfiguration, Baptism, and Last Supper. C. F. MURRAY.

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rebuilt, the church restored, and the library added; the church being finished in 1441, the monastery in 1443. Before the architects had finished their work, Fra Angelico had begun the altarpiece for the choir—a Madonna and Child with two angels at the sides, St. Mark, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Stephen on her right; St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Peter on the left with Sts. Cosimo and Damiano before her—doubtless as a sign of gratitude to Cosimo de' Medici, who had used his influence with the pope to obtain the concession of St. Mark for the Dominicans. This picture, in a bad state of preservation, is now in the Academy; the predella had been taken to pieces and the parts scattered abroad, many of them being lost, so that it is impossible of reconstruction.

Vasari says that Nicholas V. wished to make Fra Angelico archbishop of Florence and that he humbly refused, saying that he was not capable of governing; but the story is incredible, for the archbishopric of Florence was not vacant during the papacy of Nicholas. If the offer was ever made it could have been only by Eugene IV., who came to Florence in 1442 to consecrate the church of St. Mark; and as he took up his abode in the monastery, he must have made the acquaintance of the painter.[1]

Indeed, when Eugene died, in 1447, Fra Angelico, then at work in Rome, seems not to have been sure of the favor of his successor, and offered to work at the Cathedral of Orvieto, erected not very long before to commemorate the last authentic miracle, that of the Corpus Domini, which is said to have occurred in 1263. In this cathedral the best art of Christendom was then being lavished in a manner known nowhere else outside the papal city. On the 14th of June the contract was signed by which Fra Angelico bound himself to go to Orvieto to paint the new chapel, with his pupil Benozzo Gozzoli and two assistants, Giovanni d'Antonio and Giacomo da Poli. He was to receive two hundred gold ducats a year, his pupil having seven a month, and each assistant three, with twenty lire a month for board and lodging, a sufficiency of bread and wine, and all the requisites for their painting.

By the 28th of September two compartments of the ceiling were finished, one representing Christ as Judge, surrounded by angels,

[1] Lord Lindsay's "Christian Art" (new edition) adopts Vasari's version of the call of the painter to Rome, but the dates still do not justify his conclusions. As to the bishopric, it was, at the date of the death of the Pope Eugene, occupied by St. Antonino: Besides, the visit to Orvieto was a break in Fra Angelico's work at Rome, which would not have taken place if it had been Nicholas who called him to Rome.

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and the other the "Praiseworthy Company of the Prophets." Having done these, and leaving designs enough to decorate half the chapel, Fra Angelico returned to Rome, probably summoned there by the new pope, and in January of 1450 he was back in Fiesole, where he must have been still in 1451, for in that year we find that the rectors of the commune of Prato sent a messenger to the archbishop of Florence urging him to send Fra Angelico to paint the greater chapel. Their petition was granted, and on the 29th of March the famous painter was conducted to Prato; but for some reason or other he refused the undertaking and returned on the 1st of April to Fiesole, and shortly afterward went to Rome. Here he was commissioned by the pope to paint the chapel in the Vatican which still bears the name of Nicholas V.[1]

Fra Angelico never again left Rome, but died there, at the age of sixty-eight. He was buried in the church of Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva, and a marble monument was erected to him, bearing the following inscription, said to have been composed by Nicholas V.:

HIC JACET VEN. PICTOR
FR. JO. DE FLOR. ORD. P.
M
CCCC
L
V

Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles,
Sed quod lucra tuis omnia, Christe, dabam:
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera coelo;
Urbs me Joannem flos tulit Etruriæ.

Vasari gives the following description of the character of Fra Angelico:

This father, truly angelic, spent all his life in the service of God and for the good of the world and his neighbor. In truth, the great and extraordinary powers possessed by Fra Giovanni could not have existed except in a man of most holy life. . . . He was a man of simplicity and most holy in his ways, and an instance of his piety is that one morning the Pope Nicholas V. having bidden him to dinner, he was unwilling to eat meat without the license of the Superior, not making account of the authority of the Pontiff. He withheld himself from all worldly deeds, and living purely and holily he was such a friend to the poor that I think his soul is now in heaven. He worked continually at his pictures and would never treat any but sacred subjects. He might have been a rich man, but he cared not to boast, and used to say that true riches consisted in being content with little. He might have had command over many but would not, saying that there was less trouble and risk in obeying than in command-

[1] I think you underrate these frescos, done at the close of the painter's life and in my opinion the finest of his works and difficult to overestimate. C. F. MURRAY.

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ing. It was in his power to gain preferment, both from the monks and from the outer world, but he cared not for it, declaring that he sought no other dignity than to escape hell and gain paradise. He was most gentle and sober, and living chastely freed himself from the snares of the world; and he was wont to say that whoever followed art had need of peace and to live without distracting thoughts, and that he who does work that concerns Christ must live continually with Christ. He was never known to get angry with the monks: if any one desired work from him he would say that he would obtain the consent of the Prior to it, and then would not fail to fulfil the request. In fact, this father, who cannot be sufficiently praised, was in all his works and conversation most humble and modest, and in his painting dexterous and conscientious, and the saints of his painting have more the air and resemblance of saints than those of any other painter. It was his habit not to retouch or correct his painting, but to leave it as it came the first time, through the belief that God willed it so. He never painted a Crucifixion that the tears did not bathe his cheeks, so that we recognize in the faces and attitude of his figures the goodness of his sincere and profound devotion to the Christian religion.

That Fra Angelico was highly appreciated by his contemporaries is shown both by the appellations which they bestowed upon him of "Angelico" and "Beato," and by the respect with which he is mentioned by two poets of his day, Padre Maestro Domenico and Giovanni Sanzio da Urbino, the father of Raphael.

The most renowned of Fra Angelico's disciples was Benozzo Gozzoli, whose work was even sometimes mistaken for that of his master. Strozzi was probably also a pupil of the Dominican friar, and may have assisted in executing the frescos in St. Mark's.

After Fra Angelico there is no one who could justify a claim to any ecstatic inspiration, and his successors, though borrowing in technical processes from him, had no sympathy with his temper and led directly to the naturalism which culminated in Raphael, which was characteristic of the Renaissance, and was visible in the frank abandonment of the artistic conventions born of the union of the ascetic Christianity of the early Church with the formality of the esthetic paganism of the declining empire, stereotyped by the Byzantines, and again called to a temporary significance by Giotto.

Henceforward we shall find the art of Christianity becoming gradually less rhapsodic and finding its sustenance more in the larger and healthier inspirations of the bodily vision. Fra Angelico is not the last of the painters of the religious temper, but simply the last of the ecstatics. The change was a part of the great movement which had already begun in other provinces less dependent on the Church, but with which painting was to keep pace as best it might—*haud passibus æquis.*

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his prayers saved him. He was afterward beheaded. The three scenes underneath, representing the legend of St. Potitus, with the exception of the scene of the saint's decapitation and the removal of the coffin to Alexandria, are almost entirely defaced.

The documents relating to this work are preserved in the archives of the Campo Santo, and from them we learn that, having completed the frescos in the spring of 1392, Spinello received 150 florins (about $330) for the life of St. Ephesius, and 120 for that of St. Potitus. In 1391 he had painted for the church of San Andrea in Lucca the panel of the Madonna and Saints which is now in the Academy of Florence. From Pisa, Spinello, always accompanied by his family, went back to Florence, then to Arezzo again, where Vasari makes him die of fright at a horrible dream of the Lucifer which he himself had painted. But in 1404 we find him writing to Caterino Cosimo of Siena to say that he will fulfil his promise of going there, although his countrymen are unwilling to let him leave them. In October of that year father and son arrived at Siena, where they were lodged and fed at the expense of their hosts, receiving besides 11½ florins (about $25) a month, while they worked in the Duomo. This they did uninterruptedly till August 17 of the next year, save for a short visit Spinello paid to Arezzo; yet no trace of this work remains.

They returned to Florence, where at each of his visits Spinello received new commissions; and in 1407 we find him again with his son Parri in Siena, where they painted the walls of the council-room in the town hall, while Bartolommeo, a Sienese painter, decorated the ceiling. The subject chosen was the struggle between Venice and Barbarossa, and the frescos illustrate the triumphs of the Republic and of Pope Alexander III., and the humiliations and defeats of the Emperor and his son. One represents the naval battle in which Otho was taken prisoner; another, Barbarossa prostrating himself at the feet of the Pope, the latter blessing the Emperor; while the best of the whole series, which includes many scenes of the same nature, shows the Pope on horseback, his bridle held by the Doge Ziani and Barbarossa. The last we hear of Spinello in Siena is in 1408, after which time he probably returned to his birthplace, where he died in March, 1410. He was buried at Morello. He had two sons, of whom the elder, Parri, was, as we have seen, a painter.

Spinello may be counted as in one sense the most important of the Giottesques, in that he was the last great and individual painter

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who followed throughout the precepts and traditions of the master, and his immense fertility and readiness of invention are surpassed only by Giotto himself. The naturalistic element had not made its appearance, and the supreme creative power of Giotto descended on none of his school; but in the distinctly scholarly (*i. e.*, school-like) manner of composition, in which much is clearly artificial and even conventional as it is scholarly, which manner is the dominant characteristic of the school of Giotto as opposed to the imaginative and vision-like character of the compositions of the master himself, Spinello was, I consider, the foremost of his followers. The color in the school remains always the same in system—broad surfaces were to be covered with lovely tints which should furnish relief by their variation alone, as the churches were dark and the work required the high key and the opaque surface of the fresco to be distinguishable; and the general effect was much the same as in mosaic. There can be no attempt at tone, nor at what I must be allowed to call orchestration of color, even in the simple form of harmonies which we shall find a little later in the Florentine school, and of which a hint may be found in the "Coronation of the Virgin," by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Academy — a hint, however, so slight, and so alone, that I fear to give it too great importance. The landscape throughout is absolutely conventional, and shows not even a recollection of the aspect of nature; and the drawing is, to use a familiar expression, "done out of the artist's head," as all rightly ideal work must be. The relief depends entirely on variety of color, as there is no instance, so far as I can remember, in any of the work of the Giottesques, of one figure in a picture throwing a shadow on another, or even on the ground. Nothing is thought of but the telling of the story, and with Spinello this is always done intelligibly. Of all his works known to me, the frescos at Pisa are the most instructive and characteristic, and are, moreover, in the upper line of subjects, well preserved; and of these the piece which Mr. Cole has engraved is, on the whole, the most interesting. In the church of St. Dominic at Arezzo, which was entirely painted by Spinello, there remain only two noble figures of apostles, framed separately in painted architectural framings characteristic of the time, and a few fragments, a head here and part of a figure there; but of these, one is an angel's head so beautiful in its profile that I am half inclined to attribute it to Piero della Francesca, who painted many things at Arezzo at a later time. But I have only this beauty

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to justify me in such attribution, and one of Spinello's heads in the Annunziata in the same city (which I have not been able to see) is spoken of as extremely beautiful.

It is in the composition of single figures—the casting of broad draperies where no action is involved—that we see the best quality of Spinello's ability. In his groups he seems indifferent to harmony of line, as were his lesser and greater schoolfellows; and the "Martyrdom of St. Ephesius," the companion of the combat from which Mr. Cole's example is taken, shows most violent defiance of the academical in its repetitions of lines. But this is better than the extreme artificiality of some of the later schools, for it is the result of one of the most precious qualities in art—naïveté—which is more or less characteristic of all archaic art. Art for art's sake was an object of study that had not yet dawned on the Italian schools.

NOTE BY THE ENGRAVER

THE block facing page 72 represents a portion of a fresco in the Campo Santo, Pisa. It is the first one on the right as one enters, and measures about ten feet high by twenty feet long, and is known as the "Battle of St. Ephesius against the Pagans of Sardinia." The lines that I have put on three sides of the block define the extent of the fresco in those directions, so that the continuation is in the direction of the side left without a line. I have chosen the thickest portion of the fight, where the action is most lively, and where two angels appear fighting on the side of the Christians. The coloring of the whole is light and vivacious, delicate greenish, yellowish, brownish, and gray tints prevailing. The upper right-hand corner of the fresco is somewhat obliterated. In black and white it looks like a blank portion of the wall that runs around the city.

T. C.

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Chapter XI

Gentile da Fabriano (Gentile di Niccolo di Giovanni di Maso da Fabriano)

(Born 1347 ?, died 1427–8)

The more closely we study the history of the Italian schools of art, the more clearly we see that the lines of distinction and demarcation which the critics draw are hypothetical, and often neither distinguish nor delimit, but that, in effect, all central and northern Italy was, from 1100 to 1600, in a ferment with the new vitality of awakening political life, and that even in the case of artists of widely separated regions there is a confusion in the attribution of work, which shows that the distinctions are so subtle as not always to be traceable. We find pictures credited to one school after another, and the work of one master given to another, so often and on such positive grounds, that we are obliged to come to the conclusion that the differences were often more personal than territorial, and that, as Cimabue did not invent Italian art, so no district of this wide region is entitled to the distinction of having been its cradle. The art of Umbria had as legitimate beginnings as had that of Tuscany, and the names of famous miniature-painters (descendants in craft, no doubt, from the same Byzantines who had kept up the traditions of Greek art) and of famous potters (the elements of whose technique and decoration are to be found as early as the eleventh century) are preserved to us, as Oderisio of Gubbio and Master Giorgio. The latter, we are told, was an ancestor of Gentile da Fabriano, who was on the whole the most remarkable of his generation in the region which was later to be the home of Raphael. Dante speaks of Oderisio (as among the dead), as well as of his successor Franco Bolognese; and other

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painters are known, showing that Umbria was no more dependent on Florence for its inspiration than was Siena.

The artistic genealogy of Gentile indicates a cross of Flemish strain. Lindsay justly notes this, and it is one of the evidences of the immense circulation of the art ideas of that epoch that the influence of Flanders had penetrated into Italy when no other element of civilization can be shown to have done so. The year of Gentile's birth is unknown, but it must have been about 1348; as he is shown by a document lately discovered at Fabriano to have died about 1428, and is said to have died at the age of eighty. With the details of the lives of their great painters the authorities of the day, as of many days before and after, did not concern themselves; artists were craftsmen like all others of any other trade, apprenticed and dealt with like the carpenters and the masons of the time, and no one thought it a matter of interest that the day of the birth or the death of a Gentile or a Giotto should be recorded.[1] Gentile was the pupil of one of the Umbrian successors of Oderisio, Allegretto Nuzi da Fabriano; but his range of study included the Sienese as well as the Florentine and the Flemish, and his work is of wider range than that of any other artist of his day. He was the contemporary of the brothers Van Eyck, the elder of whom, Hubert, was born about 1366, and died in 1426, while John was twenty or thirty years younger, and died probably in 1446. In Venice the works of John Van Eyck were well known, and may well have been familiar to Gentile during his abode in that city. At all events, Gentile exhibits in his work the love of luster and the jewel-like quality of the Flemish brothers, and his pictures seem a prophecy of those of Albert Dürer. But in the essential of the art-spirit of the great Italian schools, the manner of looking at nature, and the subjective treatment of even the details, Gentile remains true to his immediate ancestry. He never falls into the realism of the Flemings; he loves the gorgeous color and the jeweled glitter, and he gives a glimpse of the naturalistic future of art; but this, in his work, is merely seen through the invincible

[1] A protocol of the notary Giovanni di Ser Federico da Cerreto, existing in the archives of Fabriano, shows the act of acceptation of the bequest of Master Gentile, dead in Rome, in behalf of his relative Maddalena, daughter of Ser Egidio da Fabriano, with the date 1428, November 22. However, the date of the death may be 1427, Gentile having worked in St. John Lateran from the 28th of January till the end of July, 1427, with the salary of twenty-five florins a month, and there being no information of work done subsequent to that date. ["The Year of the Death of Gentile da Fabriano." By Aurelia and Augusto Zonghi. Tipografia Sonciniana; Fano.]

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habit due to his idealistic education. The necessity of working on large surfaces in fresco was with Gentile, as with all of his fellow-workers in Italy, a barrier to the adoption of the realistic method, while with the Flemings, whose work was on a restricted scale, the direct study of nature was facile and tempting. Over and above this, the far more conservative nature of the Italian was an impediment to any change of method or type.

Vasari has it that Gentile was the pupil of Fra Angelico; but the spirit of their work is so different that there seems no indication of affiliation between them, if we except the common parentage of the Italian schools in the Byzantine. Moreover, as, according to the latest discoveries, Gentile was born forty years before Fra Angelico, it is in the last degree improbable that he should have seen any work of the latter before his style was as far determined as it ever became, and it is far more likely that the work of Orcagna was the common cause of any similarity there may be in that of the two younger men. A fragment of fresco by Gentile at Orvieto, where he worked in extreme old age, shows, in the opinion of Cavalcaselle, the influence of Siena; but, considering the age at which it was done, I should be more disposed to regard the Sienese influence as due to subsequent repainting. At Fabriano is the predella of an altarpiece—the other parts of which have been taken to Milan—which recalls work of Taddeo Bartolo's at Siena. The figures in this altarpiece are clumsy in proportion and attitude, their drapery complicated and full of meaningless folds, while the hands and feet are coarse and ungainly. The details are most elaborate and highly finished.

Gentile, on leaving Fabriano, first went to Brescia, where he decorated a chapel for Pandolfo Malatesta. He then went to Venice, and painted one wall of the great hall of the ducal palace with a battle-scene, a combat between Barbarossa and the Venetians. He also executed two altarpieces for the churches of San Giuliano and San Felice. Records recently discovered state that the walls in the ducal palace were undecorated up to 1411, and that the paintings were all completed by 1422, showing that Gentile and Pisano must have worked on them between those two dates. The battle-piece above mentioned has disappeared, nor do any of his works executed in Venice survive, with the exception of one Madonna in the Venice Academy. We know, however, that Jacopo Bellini, father of Gentile Bellini and Giovanni Bellini, entered his

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workshop as pupil, and that a strong friendship existed between master and disciple, Gentile standing sponsor to Jacopo's first child.

In 1422 we find Gentile at Florence; but though he had left Venice, he continued to have many orders from that city, where his style was immensely admired, and where a great number of his works were collected. Says Cavalcaselle:

> From his shop in the Popolo St. Trinità at Florence, Gentile doubtless sent forth much that is undiscoverable at the present day. In 1423, he completed an order for the church of his adopted parish; and the "Adoration of the Magi" [of which Mr. Cole has engraved a portion] . . . is now the ornament of the Florentine Academy of Arts. He enriched the foreground of the composition by the introduction of a copious retinue of followers, grooms, and huntsmen, accompanied by dogs and monkeys, filling the distance with well-arranged episodes and groups. The Saviour, the Virgin, and the angel appear in the medallions of the gables, whilst the predella comprises the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and the Presentation in the Temple. Grace in the shape of the females attendant on the Virgin, ease in the motion of the king, whose spurs a page removes, are combined with individuality in heads, which seem portrayed from nature. The harmonies of color are Umbrian in their gayety, but there is no aërial perspective, and gilt-relief ornament is luxuriously applied. The profile of a female to the left of the Virgin recalls the types of the old Sienese period, whilst the turbaned king seems impressed with that softness which becomes a more charming feature in Perugino. The figures in the gables are pretty and in fair condition, whilst the principal subject is not free from injury. This is Gentile's best extant effort, proving that his stay in Florence had taught him something more than he had learnt at home, yet that, like his precursor, Nuzi, he could not alter his Umbrian nature, nor forget his primitive education so far as to adopt any of the innovations due to Uccello, Brunelleschi, Masaccio,[1] or Donatello. He may have been struck by a miniaturist like Lorenzo Monaco, he may have admired the creations of Angelico; but he remained inferior to the first, and *a fortiori* at a respectful distance from the second.

With so much disparagement of Gentile I am not disposed to agree. He was unequal in his work and changeable in his temper, with less respect for the conventions of which the art of his day was in great part composed; but if in the vein of Fra Angelico he was not to be compared to him, he was admirable in certain decorative qualities utterly distinct from those of the Dominican.

We know that Gentile remained in Florence till 1425, when he was called to Orvieto to decorate a part of the cathedral. Vasari speaks of work of his at Siena, and a Virgin and Child supposed to be by him, and stated to have been painted in 1425, is much praised by Facius; but there is no record of his having been in Siena.

1 As Gentile was fifty-four when Masaccio was born, the latter is not likely to have influenced him much. They died at nearly the same time.

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During his abode of three years in Florence he painted several pictures. Vasari praises much a Virgin and Child in the church of San Niccolò, of which the center, now in the Berlin Museum, is very gracefully and richly designed. A panel has lately been discovered in the same church, representing the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove descending from God upon Christ and the Virgin, who kneel below on a rainbow. At the sides are the figures of various saints and the resurrection of Lazarus.

Gentile was called from Orvieto to Rome by Martin V. to decorate the newly restored church of St. John Lateran, and he worked on the frescos until the time of his own death.[1] Most unfortunately, all have perished, though one still remained in the sixteenth century. Vasari tells us of a saying of Michelangelo's referring to Gentile: "Aveva la mano simile al nome" ("His touch was like his name"), Gentile meaning delicate, graceful. Van der Weyden, after seeing the frescos in the Lateran, declared that Gentile was the greatest man in Italy, and no doubt the Flemish artist found much that was sympathetic and interesting to him in Gentile's work.

Gentile did other work for Pope Martin, all of which has disappeared; and he was probably at Perugia at some time of his life, judging from the fragments of a fresco in San Domenico. There are some works at Città di Castello attributed to him, but their authorship is doubtful.

Gentile died at Rome, according to the lately discovered document mentioned above, in 1427–8.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

FLORENCE, January 13, 1888.—The detail sent is from the "Adoration of the Kings," by Gentile da Fabriano, in the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence. It is in the long gallery leading off from the Tribuna del David, where are arranged in chronological order examples from the earliest period of Italian painting down through the decline of art. The picture is about nine feet square, including the frame, which is architectural in design and highly ornamented. It is filled with figures, and the kingly procession which has come to pay homage to the Child winds away off into the distance through a picturesque and hilly landscape. There

[1] Lindsay makes Gentile appear at Orvieto in 1423, and go from there to Florence (as the date 1425 is on a picture in San Niccolò), and supposes that he went to Rome in the following year. Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, believes the Orvieto Madonna to have been painted later, and that he went to Rome immediately after.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

FRA ANGELICO'S chief works are his frescos in the Cathedral of Orvieto. These would of themselves repay a pilgrimage to that romantic city. They are in the chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio (Capella Nuovo) in the right transept of the church, and are comprised in two of the three triangular arched spandrels of the ceiling immediately over the great window of the chapel. They contain the Saviour seated in glory with angels, saints, and prophets, intended for the upper part of the "Christ Enthroned." The third compartment, which is to the right, is the work of his pupil, Benozzo Gozzoli. The remaining part of the "Christ Enthroned" is the masterpiece of Luca Signorelli, and occupies the rest of the wall space of the chapel. The figure of Christ seated in glory upon a cloud encircled by a rainbow upon a ground of gold, which glows in the light of the window beneath, is the first object to seize the attention upon entering the chapel. The dignity and solemn majesty of his person impress one mightily. The figure is colossal, and is robed in an outer garment of blue of a light, fresh tint, the deep shadows of the folds being of a strong, rich tone. The folds fall in graceful lines about and below the feet; the part of the garment turned down and falling from the shoulder over the lap reveals the lining, which is of a dark, soft tone of yellow of a shade of ocher or old gold. The inner garment is of a soft shade of maroon, the trimming round the sleeve, neck, and belt is of gold, as well as the belt of the globe of the universe—the globe itself being blue. The hair, falling in curls upon the shoulders, is of a soft brown color, as well as the beard, which is parted in the middle and is softly shaded into the warm, brownish color of the face. The expression of the countenance is marvelously subtle. Christ is still the loving Saviour; his visage is darkened with sorrow more than wrath as he raises his right hand in condemnation of the wicked. This right hand appears to me wonderfully full of tender feeling. The likeness of Fra Angelico standing by the side of Luca Signorelli is painted by the latter in his fresco of "The Overthrow of the Antichrist," which is on the left wall of this chapel as one faces the "Christ Enthroned." His sweet face and gentle bearing, with eyes humbly cast toward the ground, are finely contrasted with the noble lineaments of Signorelli, who looks straight at you with a kind and generous air.

Fra Angelico's fresco of the Annunciation in the Museum of San Marco (formerly the Monastery of San Marco) is upon the wall immediately facing the entrance to the corridor of the upper floor. It measures seven feet four inches high by nine feet nine inches long, and the figures are a little more than half the size of life. The scene takes place beneath an arched arcade, such as is seen in the cloister of the museum, and the little room back of the Virgin is a duplicate of one of the cells of the upper floor with its one little window. Here in the picture the light falls softly in, forming a very beautiful little bit. Without is a garden dotted with flowers, and separated from the wood behind by a picketed board fence, in which not only is every nail-head visible, but even the graining of the wood put in with childlike simplicity. The Virgin has seated herself in quiet contemplation, when the messenger of the Lord suddenly appears before her, his wings still extended like a dove just alighted from the sky. He gazes steadfastly into the Virgin's face, and the look of mutual interest is singularly impressive, as well as the expression of humility

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and devout awe in the face of the Virgin. I wish I could have engraved the fresco of the "Coronation of the Virgin" in one of the cells as an illustration of the divine sweetness of Fra Angelico's Madonnas. They are beings of unearthly beauty, and words fail to convey any idea of their ineffable loveliness and purity. His angels, too, are creatures of another sphere, and purer types have not yet been conceived in art. The drawing in the hands of his angels and Madonnas is most exquisite — charming in tender yet subtle simplicity of outline.

San Marco is indeed a museum of Fra Angelico's work, as every one of the cells contains one of his frescos. The coloring of these is very fine. The delicate freshness and coolness of the tints blend softly and harmoniously together — simple, pure colors, laid in sometimes with fine pencilings. In the "Crucifixion" in the cloister the shaven face of St. Dominic at the foot of the cross is treated so finely and delicately that the attempt is made to show each separate shaven hair by minutely fine dots. In this fresco is displayed all this painter's knowledge of the technique of his art. The wings of his angels are enlivened with tints of green, yellow, violet, etc., contrasted harmoniously. There are forty frescos in the cells, all the cells except five having a fresco in each. These are painted on the same side as the window, so they are poorly lighted, though the light reflected from the surrounding walls on sunny days brings them out clear and distinct. Among the most beautiful of the series are the following: Cell No. 1, "Noli me Tangere"; No. 3, "Annunciation" (the angel is standing and the Virgin is kneeling on her footstool); No. 4, "The Crucifixion"; No. 6, "The Transfiguration"; No. 7, "The Mocking and Crowning with Thorns"; No. 8, "The Resurrection"; No. 9 (Fra Angelico's own cell), "The Coronation of the Virgin"; No. 34, "The Agony in the Garden."

T. C.

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Chapter XIII

MASACCIO (TOMMASO DI SER GIOVANNI GUIDI)[1]

(Born 1402, died 1428–9)

It is difficult to separate with absolute certainty, in the revival, or rather transformation, of art with which the name of Masaccio is connected, the part which belongs to him from that which is due to his master Masolino; for that there was a certain common quality is evident from the disputes which have arisen over the share taken by each in the works ascribed to them. There is a curious parallel between Masaccio and Raphael in this relation to their masters, in the important positions they hold in the history of art, and in their early deaths. The especial contribution of Masolino to the art of Masaccio appears to be the frank study of the nude and a direct recognition of nature in the details of his figures; or, to use the words of Cavalcaselle, "he [Masolino] was equally careless of the traditional garb of time-honored scriptural figures; and his personages are dressed in vast caps and turbans, coats, and tight-fitting clothes, spoiling by their overweight or inelegant cut the effect of the finely studied heads, the delicate hands and feet, which he so carefully imitated from nature." But this, in general, means that, possibly from a lack of ideal power, Masolino fell back on nature to an extent that before him was unknown, and by the

[1] There are so many knotty points connected with this life that I do not feel inclined to tackle them. Those gentlemen who dig amongst the archives never prove enough. 1st, I require proof of the identity of Maso di Christoforo Fini, born 1383, with Masolino; — this has been hastily assumed because it suited the commentators of Vasari. This Maso di Christoforo was at one time confounded with Maso di Christoforo Bracci, born apparently the same year. Masolino signs himself simply "Masolinus de Florentia"; we have, so far as I know, no signature of Masaccio. Note the curious disappearance of Masolino in Hungary and of Masaccio in Rome. C. F. Murray.

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sharpness of his innovation unsettled the authority of the artistic traditions which had from the days of Giotto largely guided and still more largely limited the direction of art. Henceforward the tendency of the progress of art is toward the predominance of the purely artistic element over the subject—a change which, when we come to translate it in terms of modern art philosophy, is of enormous import. It means the gradual elimination of the purely devotional use of the painter, the gradual introduction of his personality, and the study of art for art's sake. The ecstatic form of art was to disappear with Fra Angelico,[1] who carried it to the height which always leads to reaction and neglect—a neglect partly due to the reaction and partly to the failure of his imitators to satisfy the sentiment awakened by the master.

Masaccio was born in 1402. He was the son of Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, and at the age of nineteen was enrolled in the gild of speziali, which now would be called that of the apothecaries; the business of the speziali being to prepare the prescriptions of the physician and, hypothetically, to compose the colors of which the artist was to make use, as in those days the color-man did not exist. Masaccio registered in the gild of painters in 1424.

His chief work now remaining was the decoration in fresco of the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine at Florence; and its importance in the history of art may be judged from the fact that at one and the same time Michelangelo, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci were engaged in studying these frescos, which indeed have been the study of artists of all succeeding generations. The only other probable work of Masaccio's, and the earliest, is in a little chapel in S. Clemente at Rome, and consists of a series of frescos devoted mainly to the history of St. Catherine of Alexandria. Here one sees at once the break with the art of preceding generations. "The Crucifixion," which occupies the wall opposite the entrance, is a vast, scattered composition with a distinct impress of an effort to represent an imaginative realization of the event as it occurred. The motive is so evidently due to the naturalistic teaching of Masolino that it is not surprising that this and the other pictures in the chapel have been attributed to the master instead of to the pupil; but the technical grounds for assigning them to Masaccio are too strong to permit us to throw Vasari's testimony overboard,

[1] Fra Angelico did not die till thirty years after Masaccio. The date of Masolino's death is not known; but it could not have been much later than that of Masaccio.

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and in the details of some of the compositions there are certain coincidences with Masaccio's work in the Brancacci Chapel which are too clear to leave much doubt that the two chapels were painted by the same artist.[1]

The fainting Virgin in the group at the foot of the cross, afterward imitated by Perugino, is in distinct violation of the orthodox

[1] The relation of Masaccio to his master Masolino is so intimate, and so much controversy exists concerning the identification of their work, that we give place to the following paragraphs from Dr. J. P. Richter's notes on Vasari (London: George Bell & Sons, 1885). Dr. Richter says of Vasari's sketch of Masolino: "The description of this great artist's long career is very short and certainly incomplete. Late researches have brought to light valuable information concerning events of Masolino's life, of which Vasari seems to have been unaware; and, what is still more important, the discovery of two extensive wall-decorations, authenticated by the artist's signature, now enables us to study closely the style of this artist's works, which have very often been confounded with those of his far-famed pupil Masaccio.

"Many of the details of Masolino's life can now be proved to be unfounded, but this does not in the least invalidate the writer's general statements about the artist's career, of which he appears to us to speak with more justice than many writers on art, even at the present day, feel inclined to admit. According to the views of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the merits of this painter would come to very little when compared with his defects. According to their theory, Masolino had no share in the execution of the celebrated wall-paintings of the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine at Florence; and the apparent discrepancies of style, which have always been noticed by those art-students who have studied the wall-paintings in question on the spot, are to be explained as varieties of style in one and the same artist, Masaccio. Instead of producing any proofs of this somewhat vague hypothesis, they repeatedly point to the difference of Raphael's manner, when under the influence of Perugino, and when working independently. (See Italian edition, 'Storia della Pittura in Italia.' Firenze: 1883. Vol. II., pp. 261, 282, 292, 303.) But we may safely say that such a comparison is not to the point, inasmuch as there is no evidence to show that the quite exceptional and peculiar deviations, to which Raphael's art was subjected for some short period, are likely to have been foreshadowed in the case of Masaccio. According to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Masolino was incapable of producing such fine and grand paintings as have heretofore borne his name, and we believe, on good grounds, supported by the testimony not only of Vasari, but also of so early a writer as Albertini in his 'Notes on the Statues and Pictures at Florence,' published in 1510. In this work the following passage occurs: 'The [fresco-work in the] chapel of the Brancacci is half by his [Masaccio's] hand, half by the hand of Masolino, with the exception of the "Crucifixion of St. Peter," which is by Filippo [Filippino Lippi].' And here we feel justified in saying that if the testimony of tradition in art history is worth anything, it must be in this instance. Vasari says of the famous wall-paintings in the Brancacci Chapel, that 'all the most celebrated sculptors and painters since Masaccio's day' have been studying there. He goes on to give a long list of names of such painters, including Michelangelo and other personal friends of his. (See Vol. I., p. 411.) Therefore the tradition about the authorship of that highly esteemed monument must have been uninterrupted. Again, the interest by which three generations of great painters had been led to take the fresco-paintings of the Brancacci Chapel as the best models for their own studies must have been too lively to admit of such serious blunders as the said theory would involve. However, if we were to admit for a moment that Masolino's collaboration at the Brancacci Chapel was not sufficiently evident,* it would be vain to enter into a discussion upon the subject, if there were no other monuments of Masolino's style than those described by Vasari, for all the works by his hand enumerated by the biographer have perished since, with the exception of the Brancacci Chapel. Even here only two pictures can at present be identified with his descriptions.

* With regard to the frescos of the Brancacci Chapel, like Bocchi and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, I quite fail to recognize two hands in those attributed to Masaccio-Masolino. C. F. MURRAY.

In such a question as this Mr. Murray's authority is almost incontestable — as compared with Richter's incomparably more weighty; nor do I know of any German critic who deserves to be weighed against him. W. J. S.

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traditions of the Crucifixion; for it is not admitted by the Roman Church that the Virgin fainted, as she is supposed to bear the full weight of the misery that had fallen on her, while her insensibility would have been a partial and temporary relief. But the dramatic sense was stronger in the artist than the tradition of the Church. The composition on the whole is a wide departure from the treatment of previous times.

The left wall of the chapel is devoted to the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria. In the first fresco she is disputing with the doctors, while Maxentius sits listening. Above is a subject representing St. Catherine refusing to worship an idol, many richly dressed persons looking on. Then come the conversion and martyrdom of the empress in one picture, in the former of which the saint is shown, looking out of her prison window, teaching the empress her doctrine, while in the latter is represented the decapitation of the convert. In another double subject are shown the attempt to tear the saint on the wheel, and the intervention of the angel, who with his sword shatters the wheels between which the saint stands, the assistants fleeing in terror; the last shows the martyrdom of the saint, who kneels with folded hands awaiting the headsman's stroke while a file of men-at-arms keep back the crowd and an angel waits to carry off the soul of the martyr, and three others on a distant

"But some forty years ago, when the whitewash was taken off the wall of the collegiate church at Castiglione d'Olona, in the province of Como, between Varese and Milan, it was found that the choir was covered by fresco-paintings exhibiting the signature, 'Masolinvs de Florentia Pinsit.' The following subjects are here represented, the figures being nearly life-size: 'The Nativity of Christ,' 'The Annunciation,' 'The Coronation of the Virgin,' 'The Marriage of the Virgin,' and 'The Adoration of the Magi.' All these compositions are placed in triangles above the spectator's head. On the perpendicular walls we find representations of the 'Entombment of the Virgin.' The two large pictures at the sides have been described as representing scenes of the life of St. Laurentius; however, in the opinion of the present writer, they illustrate the life and martyrdom of St. Stephen. This church was founded in 1422 by the Cardinal Branda, of Castiglione. The date of its completion may be conjectured from the inscription on a fine high-relief on the portal giving the year 1428.* The sepulchral monument of the cardinal in the choir bears the date 1443. He, no doubt, was Masolino's employer not only in Castiglione, but most probably also at Rome, as will be seen in the notes to Vasari's 'Life of Masaccio.' Close to the collegiate church is the small baptistery, which is entirely covered by fresco-paintings by Masolino, representing scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. John the Baptist. On the ceiling are busts of the Fathers of the Church and of prophets. Here occurs the date 1435. If these figures can be relied upon as correct (the writing is apparently of a later date, but it may only be a subsequent restoration of the original), it would follow that the pictures in the baptistery were about seven years later than the decoration of the collegiate church. A close study of these imposing and very impressive pictures enables us to state positively that the characteristics of style are here precisely the same as in the pictures in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence, which have always been given to the same artist."

* The date of the Castiglione d'Olona frescos is assumed to be 1428, but they would have to be later to belong to Masolino, because the previous year his father describes him as absent in Hungary. C. F. MURRAY.

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mountain-top bury her body. The four frescos on the opposite wall do not seem to me to justify their attribution, and I must consider them later and by another hand. Vasari tells us that Masaccio, among other pictures executed in Rome, painted one in a chapel of Sta. Maria Maggiore in which the Madonna accompanied by four saints, "so well executed as to seem in relief," presides over the tracing of the foundation of the church by Pope Liberius, under the likeness of Martin V., while the Emperor Sigismund is looking on. Cavalcaselle is disposed to recognize this picture in one in the gallery at Naples, which represents the pope in his pontifical vestments surrounded by cardinals and clergy, tracing the plan in the snow, while a richly but not regally dressed person, who may be Sigismund, is looking on surrounded by young men and women. In the sky are half-figures of the Virgin and Christ.

Masaccio left Rome for Florence in 1420–21; and as Masolino, who seems to have been originally charged with the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine, had gone to Hungary, Masaccio was intrusted with the work. When he returned to Rome is not exactly known; but his poverty in Florence—a poverty which even the accession to power of his friend Giovanni di Bicci dei Medici did not relieve—probably sent him back, never to return. The scheduling of the property and incomes of the citizens

I cannot admit that Dr. Richter should be accepted as authority on a technical question like that here involved. He has nothing of the practical training necessary to decide so difficult a question. The weakness of the German art critic is the passion for finding new theories for the solution of disputed questions, and Dr. Richter possesses it at the maximum. W. J. S.

In his notes on Vasari's sketch of Masaccio, Dr. Richter gives the following opinion in regard to the Roman work which Mr. Stillman follows Vasari in attributing to Masaccio: "There is no consistency whatever in the statement that the wall-paintings at San Clemente, Rome, were by Giotto. This is an hypothesis which sound criticism will feel bound to reject as preposterous. Vasari ascribes them to Masaccio, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle in their 'History of Painting' accept this attribution. They do not deny the apparent divergency of style in these paintings when compared with well-authenticated works of Massaccio, but they believe these can be reconciled by the hypothesis that the fresco-paintings of San Clemente are very early works of Masaccio (Italian edition, 1883, Vol. II., p. 281). However, in the opinion of the present writer the existing difficulties cannot be overcome by this new suggestion. After a careful study of the works of Masolino at Castiglione and at Florence, and of those by Masaccio at Florence, it appears to him impossible to deny that the frescos at San Clemente are by the hand of Masolino, and not of Masaccio, and this explanation is by no means a new one. Rumohr has already expressed a doubt that they are by Masaccio ('Ital. Forschungen,' II., p. 250). A. von Zahn has claimed them for Masolino ('Jahrbücher der Kunstwissenschaft,' II., p. 155). See also Woltmann and Woermann ('Geschichte der Malerei,' II., pp. 139, 140). Vasari tells us that the frescos were ordered by the cardinal of San Clemente. It is a striking coincidence that between the years 1411 and 1420, when we may expect that these paintings were executed, the cardinalate of San Clemente was in the hands of Branda of Castiglione, of whom we know that he was Masolino's patron." EDITOR.

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instituted by Giovanni in 1427 shows that Masaccio lived with his younger brother Giovanni, and that though he earned six soldi a day he was in debt to the amount of one hundred and two lire and four soldi to one of his fellow-painters, six florins to another creditor, and had pledged his valuables at the pawnshop. Niccolo di Ser Lapo in his income-return of 1427 says that Masaccio owed him 200 lire, and in 1430 there was still 68 lire of it due, and that he had no hope of ever getting it, as Masaccio had gone to Rome and died there and his brother Giovanni declined the responsibility for the debt. In the census-return of 1429 Masaccio is set down as being twenty-five years old, but his name is then crossed out, with the annotation, "Died at Rome"; but no record or tradition tells how.

In the long record of the contrast of fortune to which the children of genius are victims there is none more pitiful than this of Masaccio. Columbus giving a new world to Castile and Leon and coming home in chains is more startling because more conspicuous, but Masaccio opening the future of art to glories unseen before him and then vanishing in poverty, unable to pay the debts he had incurred for the material of his art, and dying in his youth with his powers in their first freshness, is far more pathetic. Raphael died young, but he had come to his old age in art, while the eagle eyes of young Masaccio were seeking fields for new triumphs, and closed just as those of his followers were opening to what he pointed out.

That the authorship of the frescos of S. Clemente should be attributed, as they are by Burckhardt and Zahn, to Masolino is, as I have said, not surprising, for the extreme naïveté of most of them may easily be attributed to the immature art instead of to the immature artist; but the technical analysis to which Cavalcaselle and others have subjected them leaves no reasonable question in the matter. The execution of them is timid in comparison with that of the work in the Brancacci Chapel; but this is precisely what we might expect, and that there should be something reminding us of the master is not more surprising than that some of Raphael's earlier pictures should be attributed to Perugino. The figure of the executioner in the "Martyrdom of St. Catherine" is like a prophecy of Raphael, while the treatment of the mystic portion of the picture is still in the feeling of the Giottesques, and the angel waiting in the sky on a rosy cloud for the soul of the saint to come up is quite in the vein of the protomaster, Giotto. The four heads in the lower

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left-hand corner of "The Crucifixion" are distinctly in the direction of that individuality of type due to the painter's selection of the people of his own day as models for the historic personages he supposes in his work. It is as if the artist had begun to realize that the men around him might be much such as the men he had to deal with in his story. There is evidence, not of realism in his method of working, but of healthy imagination in the calling up of his material; and he tells his stories with the same freedom that Giotto enjoyed. He gives us in the same picture, in all the spirit of orthodox art, St. Catherine standing between the wheels, ready for the torture, and the wheels flying into pieces and crushing the torturers; but in the scene of the decapitation there are some curious spectators beyond the line of guards trying to thrust themselves through to see the execution with a naturalism almost modern in its air, while the body of the saint has fallen to the ground in the first instant of death, and the executioner is sheathing his sword.

I may as well point out here the meaning I shall attach to the puzzling words "realism" and "naturalism," because we must now take cognizance of the matters they imply, Masaccio being the first of the painters with whom I have to deal who showed a distinct recognition of the every-day world as a mine of his art. Fra Angelico has the variety of type which the ends of art require for the distinguishing of his sacred personages, and at all times and naturally the images of memory must have mixed in the texture of the dreams even of ecstatics like him; but the types are, to my mind, the types of dreams, and, with Giotto, of pure imagination. In Masaccio, and the men who follow, the ecstatic disappears, and we are in a world whose images may not be real and capable of a realistic rendering, but clearly are drawn from the natural world in contradistinction to the supernatural or conventional and symbolical, and in which, without coming down to the servitude of the model or of rigid portraiture, the types are drawn more or less directly from what they saw about them. The study of these forms in the succeeding generations of painters was closer and closer, or, as it seems to me, tending continually more to the direct use of the model, which becomes absolute only in the school of Bologna; but later than the free and noble naturalism which was only inspired by nature and retained the freedom of art there comes the internal evidence of a growing tendency to realism, in which not the spirit

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but the very letter of the art was taken slavishly from the actual and material world. It is in this sense that I say that Masaccio was the first naturalistic painter. The ecstatic is henceforward impossible, and we see more and more the evidence of the hints of art being taken from what has been within the apprehension of all who had eyes to see.

But the art of Masaccio is still ideal and contains the germs of the highest development of the schools of Central Italy—the mastery of composition of many figures which came to its fullest in Raphael, and in some cases in his cartoons even to the overbloom of artifice. Take, for instance, the "Resuscitation of the Young Man," from the Brancacci Chapel, "The Tribute Money," or the "St. Peter Baptizing," and compare them even with the composition of Giotto, and we become at once aware that a new element has been introduced into art—harmony of line and balance of masses fixing the character of the work. And in this Masaccio is an innovator, for he is the first who made this a motive of his art, and he did it with a naïveté and a consequent power which we do not find to the same degree in the later men. The woe-stricken Adam and Eve in the "Expulsion from Paradise," in the Brancacci Chapel, are of a simpler type, and in this simplicity show more clearly the dramatic power of the artist. In both types of his work we see that art had begun to take on an independent existence and was being studied for its own qualities, and no longer merely as the accompaniment of devotion or the vehicle of a story. It is long after this that sacred narrative and Art are dissevered, but from this time they have existences more and more independent of each other.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

MASACCIO'S fresco of "The Tribute Money" (No. 3 of the plan), from which the detail of the head of Christ with three of the Apostles is taken, measures eight feet high by eighteen feet four inches long. This also is the size of the three corresponding pictures, Nos. 4, 9, and 10. The frescos at the sides of the altar are five feet wide, and those on the pilasters, which project six inches from the wall, are three feet wide. They are separated from each other by a narrow framework, six inches wide, painted with the pictures, in imitation of a cornice resting on pilasters at each end of each fresco. In the large pictures different moments of the same event, or different subjects, are presented in the same picture. For instance, in "The Tribute Money" Christ stands in the midst of his disciples. The

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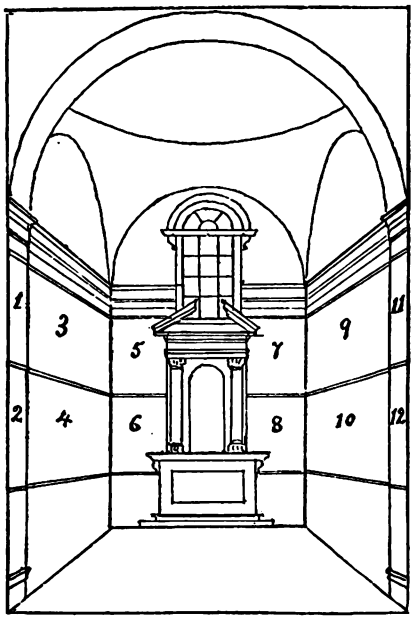
tax-gatherer, with his back to the spectator, in the immediate foreground, is presenting his hand for the tribute (the hand and part of the shoulder only are shown in the detail); while Christ commands Peter, who is not shown in the detail, to get the necessary money from the mouth of the fish. This is the principal event of the picture and is disposed in the center, taking up half of the space, simple architecture rises behind the two figures. The landscape is noble. A stretch of mountain scenery and sky, with a few trees receding in perspective, and a river to the left, forms the background to Christ and his disciples.

The coloring is of soft, warm, gray tints, fine in quality. A quiet, subtile richness of tone characterizes the draperies of various shades of color, all blending



PLAN OF THE FRESCOS OF THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL, IN THE CHURCH OF STA. MARIA DEL CARMINE, FLORENCE.

1. The Expulsion from Paradise. *Masaccio.* 2. Peter in Prison visited by Paul. *Filippino Lippi.* 3. The Tribute Money. *Masaccio.* 4. Peter accepts the Challenge to Simon Magus and raises the Dead Youth to Life. Partly by *Masaccio* and partly by *Filippino Lippi.* 5. The Preaching of Peter. *Masaccio.* 6. The Sick and Deformed cured by the Shadow of Peter (Acts v. 15. Here accompanied by John). *Masaccio.* 7. Peter Baptizing. *Masaccio.* 8. Peter and John distributing Alms (sometimes called the Ananias; a dead figure lies at the feet of the Apostles). *Masaccio.* 9. Healing of the Cripple at the Beautiful Gate, and cure of Petronilla. *Masolino.* 10. Peter and Paul accused before Nero, and Martyrdom of Peter. *Filippino Lippi.* 11. The Fall of Adam and Eve. *Masolino.* 12. Liberation of Peter from Prison by the Angel. *Filippino Lippi.* (See Cugler's "Italian Schools," by Layard, Vol. I., p. 143.)

the figures being nearly life-size. To the left, in the background, Peter is seen down by the waterside in the act of taking the coin from the mouth of the fish. The action is finely expressed as he crouches down, with his weight chiefly on one leg, the other being extended. To the right of the central group Peter is represented paying the tribute to the officer; broad, together harmoniously and delightfully in a low and tender key. It is impossible by words to give any idea of such coloring. It is simply indescribable. One cannot mix words up, as he can pigments, with intelligible results, and so, for instance, be able to set forth the tone of red in the drapery of Christ, or the overrobe of blue so pleasant to look upon,

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and as soothing to the imagination as to the eye. To glance up at the abominable modern ceiling of the chapel gives one a shock like the unexpected blare of a brass instrument close to the ear.

The figures throughout have a quiet, dignified bearing; the attitude of Christ is magnificent. The eye falls naturally upon him at once, taking in the broad play of light from the outstretched arm, while the air of commanding dignity, and the beauty of the neck, barer than those of the others, aid in distinguishing him. But one needs to mount a step-ladder and get nearer to the picture to appreciate at their full value the moral strength and manly beauty of Christ's countenance, his nobility and strong personality, and the subtlety of the expression of authority in his face. The other heads, too, are admirable, and grouped finely together, in graceful and easy composition. The various planes of light falling upon them according to their several degrees of distances are well managed. In looking at them attentively and seeking to enter into the scene, one naturally feels with Vasari, who, speaking of this fresco as remarkable above the others, says: "The attention given by the Apostles to what is taking place as they stand around their Master awaiting his determination is expressed with so much truth, and their various attitudes and gestures are so full of animation, that they seem to be those of living men." There is, moreover, great spirit in the figure of Peter as he looks inquiringly toward Jesus, his right arm following the direction of that of his master, which carries the eye to the second moment of the event.[1]

The walls of the chapel are very uneven, being full of waves—a result, no doubt, of age.

T. C.

[1] An example of Masaccio's influence upon Raphael may be seen by comparison of this figure of Peter with that in the "Liberation of Peter," on the wall of the Stanza d'Eliodoro of the Vatican. EDITOR.

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Chapter XIV

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

(Born 1402–12, died 1469)

The character of the work of Masaccio in art may be compared to that of Luther in religion, in kind if not in measure. It was the first bold and unequivocal departure from the authority of the traditions of art recognized by all the followers of Giotto, the first frank declaration of the value of individuality in art. Like Luther's, this reform did not extend to the repudiation of the great motives of the fathers, but was devoted to limitation of the manner of interpreting them and the forms they should take. The example set by Masaccio of turning his back on the world of the ecstatics and the types of authority and opening his eyes to the living flesh and blood about him was followed by his pupil, Fra Filippo Lippi, with a hearty and unreserved abandonment to the logical consequences, which would perhaps have surprised and repelled the master as much as the later doctrines of reform would have shocked Luther. In Masaccio we found the first unbiased, natural inspiration; in Filippo we have the first direct recourse to the individual as a substitute for the ideal. For though far from ideal in the large and now generally accepted use of the word, embracing the old and the new, the Greek as well as the Christian, the Byzantine type was an ideal as completely as the Phidian, and the imagery of the ecstatic school was drawn from the inner vision. Its Christ was the man of many sorrows, emaciated by spiritual struggles and not beautiful to look on; its Madonna, the woman who mothered all human griefs—spiritual ideals, between which and the Greek ideals of physical beauty there was all the antagonism of the religions from which they grew.

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Not to push a parallel too far, the art of the school of Masaccio was an art involving the reform of externals; and in it, as might be expected, the departure of the followers in reform from the old canons was a rapidly accelerating progress. In Filippo the ideal is colored by the individual, and whatever may be the truth as to the stories of his relations to Lucrezia Buti, there is no mistaking the fact that some fair face had come between his eyes and the Madonna. The forms of beauty to him became all of one mold, and there is for the first time in the progress of Christian art a distinct and systematic employment of the individual and the personal in the representation of sacred personages, especially of the Madonna, an employment which later becomes the rule.

No doubt the work of Donatello contributed greatly to this result, but that was still ideal. His system of types had a kind of individuality not known before in sculpture; but those types, distinct as they were, do not bear the mark of the model, but seem rather the outcome of an imaginative conception of the character more analogous to Greek idealization that to that of the art which begun with Fra Filippo. From this time forward the naturalism of painting becomes more and more concrete; and though direct work from a model as practised to-day does not appear for a long time after Fra Filippo, the naturalistic element gains strength with every generation of painters.

It is not easy to decide upon the exact date of Fra Filippo's birth. Vasari says in his first edition 1402, in the second, 1412; and if we could accept his assertion that the Frate died at the age of fifty-seven, the latter date would be correct, for we know that he was buried in 1469. The records state that he was the son of a Florentine butcher, that his mother died in 1412, shortly after his birth, and that his father died two years later, leaving the orphan to the care of an aunt, Monna Lapaccia, a woman in poor circumstances, as were all his relatives. Milanesi, however, says that the ledger of the Carmelite convent where Filippo passed his youth states that he professed at the age of sixteen, the date given being 1421, which would put the date of his birth at 1405–06. The legend runs that Monna Lapaccia kept him till he was eight years old, when, unable to support him longer, she placed him in the monastery of the Carmine, which, as fate would have it, was in the immediate vicinity of her house. Here the boy proved to be dexterous in all kinds of handicraft, but absolutely dull and indolent at his

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books. The "grammar-master" could make nothing of him: instead of studying he drew little figures all over his own and his classmates' books, so at last the prior very sensibly put him to drawing, and gave him every facility for developing his talent. Masaccio's frescos in the monastery were a source of great delight to the boy artist, who would spend long hours every day studying them. He made such rapid progress that every one prophesied that he would become famous, and Vasari says that "many thought that the spirit of Masaccio must have entered into Filippo." He painted many frescos in the Carmine, all of which have perished.

In 1431–32 he seems to have left the monastery, though the reasons that are attributed to him for so doing are of the most opposite natures. Vasari says that, having become elated by the praise of all those who saw his work, he cast off his monkish garb and went into the world, where he led a life of dissipation. Being one day at Ancona in a little pleasure-boat with some friends, the party was captured by Moorish pirates and carried off to Barbary, where Filippo remained eighteen months. One day he amused himself by drawing his master in charcoal on a white wall, and this feat so much astonished and delighted the Moors that, having caused him to paint one or two pictures for them, they took him to Naples and set him free. There he painted a panel in tempera for King Alfonso, and then returned to Florence.

This whole story is denied by modern historians. Cavalcaselle declares that Fra Filippo was never at Ancona or at Naples; that he never abandoned his monkhood, since he signed himself to the end "Frater Filippus," and was by others given the same name; and finally that Vasari is untruthful when he speaks of the Carmelite as a dissolute man, as a letter of his to Piero de' Medici shows him in a very different light. In this letter he complains of having been underpaid for one of his pictures, and says that it has pleased Heaven to leave him the poorest friar in Florence, in charge of six marriageable nieces, who are entirely dependent on him: he begs Piero to allow him a grant of corn and wine to support them while he is away.

This certainly does not look like the letter of a man whom, according to Vasari, Piero de' Medici was forced to lock up in order to get any work done, and who knotted his sheets together and escaped by the window after two days to get off and revel. Vasari relates that, being engaged by the nuns of St. Margaret to paint

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a panel, he fell in love with a young girl of whom the Sisters had charge, Lucrezia Buti—Filippino Lippi being, according to this account, the child of this unlawful union.[1] This again Cavalcaselle indignantly denies, and points out that it is unlikely that a person guilty of such immorality should have been created chaplain to a convent of nuns in 1452, and rector of St. Quirico at Legnaia in 1457. He supposes the younger artist to have been adopted by the older, as was frequently done in those days.

Very few of Fra Filippo's earliest works are known. Probably the Nativity in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence belongs to the period of his monastic life, and it may be the one painted for Cosimo de' Medici of which Vasari speaks. It shows the influence of Fra Angelico much more than does his later work. Another altarpiece, in the Berlin museum, bearing his signature, belongs to the same epoch. In the Louvre is a Madonna and Child painted by Fra Filippo at the age of twenty-six; in the Lateran Gallery another altarpiece, executed to the order of Carlo Marzuppini, in which the donor of the piece is introduced. Vasari says that Marzuppini called the artist's attention to the careless manner in which the hands and feet were drawn, and that Fra Filippo hid them with the drapery to hide their imperfection—one of those curious technical details continually occurring in the history of the art of this epoch which show, as clearly as any tradition can, that the practice of drawing the subject from the model was not yet adopted, but that the figure was drawn from traditional and inherited knowledge of it, as it had been by the Byzantines. To understand the relations of the Italian art of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, it is necessary to have this always in mind, as it will then be easy to see how far and how fast the practice obtained of drawing from nature as a preparation for the final work.

In 1441 Fra Filippo executed a commission for the nuns of S. Ambrogio; and in the "Coronation of the Virgin," which he executed for them, there is a half-length portrait of himself, tonsured, which proves that at least as late as 1441 he retained the badge of monastic life.

[1] The discovery of some documents relating to the life of the painter since the last edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle was published has been held to prove the scandal to be well founded. They do nothing of the kind, for those which strengthen the aspersion are clearly posterior to the death of the artist, while the will of Filippino, which is the most important of them, tends to confirm the version of the connection between the painter and Lucrezia, according to which they were both released from their vows by the pope and married. The subject is not cleared up, but there is no good evidence of the sacrilegious version — there is some of the marriage. W. J. S.

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From this time Fra Filippo seems to have orders enough, one would think, to furnish means of subsistence for any number of relatives, yet he appears to have remained poor and needy. The Medici took him under their patronage, and in 1452 he was made chaplain in the convent of S. Giovannino in Florence.

In 1456 he was at Prato, painting the series of frescos in the choir of the cathedral, which remains on the whole the most important of his works, both for size and for preservation. The next year he received an order from Giovanni de' Medici to leave his work and come to Florence and paint a picture for the King of Naples; and though loath to return to Florence, on account of debts he owed there, he obeyed his patron. We have a letter of his begging for money to buy the gold-leaf he needed to complete the picture; and the agent of the Medici, who went to his shop to urge him on with his work, says in a letter to Cosimo that he found a sale going on in Filippo's studio to pay his rent and some other debts.

The picture for the king, and one for Count de Rohan, were sent to Naples, and gave much satisfaction, as we learn from a letter of Cosimo's; but they are no longer there, unless a panel in the museum, somewhat like one in the National Gallery, London, be by him; but it appears to me more like the work of Filippino. In the Pitti Gallery, Florence, there is an admirable Madonna by Fra Filippo, which he is said to have painted from Lucrezia Buti.[1] The head is of the same type as most of his representations of women. There is another reputed portrait of Lucrezia in the Louvre, but Cavalcaselle says the picture is not even by Fra Filippo, and attributes it to Peselli. At Prato, in the gallery, there is a Madonna by Filippo, a Virgin and Child with attendant saints, and the extremely fine Nativity once in the refectory of S. Dominico, which, with the frescos noted in the cathedral, show that Fra Filippo's stay in Prato must have been a considerable one. His work there, however, seems to have suffered several interruptions. The first, as we have seen, was caused by a summons from his patron. In 1461 he went to Perugia to value the frescos of Benedetto Buonfigli in the chapel of the Palazzo del Comune; in 1463 and 1464 we find the representatives of Prato meeting in great perplexity as to how the painter can be forced to finish his work, for which he has been in part paid, and deciding to ask Messer Carlo de' Medici to interfere.

[1] The study for the head of this Madonna is amongst the Uffizi drawings, and is very fine.

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By some means or other the frescos were completed, and in the last of the series, the "Death of S. Stefano," Lippi introduced a fine portrait of Carlo de' Medici, and one of himself.

From Prato, Fra Filippo seems to have gone to Spoleto, where he painted in the cathedral several scenes from the life of the Virgin, which still remain, though in a damaged condition, being, moreover, never finished, as he died there in 1469, poisoned—according to Vasari again—by the relatives of one of his mistresses. Lorenzo de' Medici erected a tomb to him in the cathedral of Spoleto, and Politian wrote his epitaph.

One of Fra Filippo's chief pupils and his assistant in his work was Fra Diamante. Cavalcaselle brings forward the theory that all the libertinism attributed by Vasari to Fra Filippo should be laid on his disciple. This he deduces from the fact that while Fra Filippo was at Prato, completing his commissions there, Fra Diamante was imprisoned in Florence, by order of his superior, and did not join his master till the latter went to Spoleto. He thinks that Fra Filippo would not have been able to continue at Prato had he been guilty of the crime Vasari charges him with, for fear of the vendetta which Lucrezia's father and the nuns would assuredly have tried to bring upon him.

The sacrilegious life, on account of which the Frate has been so charged with obloquy, is very questionable, and the alleged poisoning at Spoleto for a similar offense is one of those vague statements of which the history of the middle and subsequent ages is full. Any sudden death was attributed to poisoning, though we know now that many forms of malarial disease, for some of which Italy has always been noted, cause death as sudden and mysterious as does poison. There were in Lippi's day no tests and no post-mortems, and suspicion was universal. And where suspicion of poisoning arose a motive was sure to be supplied. Current rumors are not evidence sufficient to establish accusations of such gravity that if recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities they would have brought Fra Filippo before the Inquisition.

The innovations introduced by Fra Filippo were not limited to the type. The use of oil over his tempera painting is evident, and to this is no doubt due an advance in color which could otherwise have been the result only of a facility of retouching and overworking such as he did not possess in tempera. The "Coronation of the Virgin" in the Florentine Accademia is a masterpiece in this

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direction, which anticipates many of the finest qualities of the best modern French art; and the group at the apex of the composition, Christ crowning the Virgin, is as subtle in every way as any work I can recall in all the art of the Renaissance. But there is still nothing realistic in it in the sense which I have given to the word in writing of Masaccio. The main motive of the work is decorative; ornament is used much as the earlier men used it; the distinction between frescos and easel pictures is more marked; and we begin to see the foreshadowing of a form of art which the Venetians carried to great perfection. The color is perfectly pure and bright—qualities due to the tempera basis, and only slightly affected by the oil painting in transparent color over it. The blackening, which is the chief vice of oil painting, does not appear till about the time of Fra Bartolommeo, who in his easel pictures appears to have used oil only as his vehicle.

When we go from the Coronation in the Accademia to the frescos at Prato, large in manner and masterly in execution, we can estimate the technical power of Fra Filippo as readily as we can his originality when we compare his conceptions of the sacred personages with those of Masaccio, and can see our way to place him, as I must, as the first great master of modern art in the sense in which modern art is separated from that of the schools sprung from the Byzantine.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE "Madonna Adoring the Child Jesus," by Fra Filippo Lippi, in the Uffizi, Florence, ranks among his very finest panel pictures. It is painted in tempera on wood, and measures two feet wide by three feet high, exclusive of its beautiful frame of fruit and flowers.

It is a very pretty allusion to the text of Scripture: "For he shall give his angels charge over thee. . . . They shall bear thee up in their hands." (Ps. xci. 11, 12.) The Virgin is by an open window and the infant Jesus is seated upon the sill, when she becomes aware of the presence of the ministering spirits. She is in an attitude of adoration, looking off somewhat as in a reverie. The farther angel, who stands on the other side of the window, has just caught the pious look of the Virgin as he glances up between the arms of Jesus; his mouth is full of the innocence of childhood. The other angel, full of childish glee, turns to look at the spectator. This face is remarkable for the sweetness of its smile. It is most captivating to look close into it and observe the refinement of its treatment, and the young, guileless purity of expression. These are real Florentine boys, and I know of two just such, who might have been the identical models that Filippo Lippi used—the difference of time

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not considered. They need only wings clapped to their shoulders to make real angels.

The group is gracefully and naturally disposed and forms a charming composition against the quiet background, which also is full of interest. To the right in the distance is a walled city with spires and towers relieved against the evening sky, which is of a neutral, warm, or greenish tint. Then comes a pile of rocks in which the fissures and coarse texture are minutely painted — too delicately worked to be given adequately in a small engraving. To the left a river winds through cultivated fields, losing itself among distant hills dotted with clumps of bushes and trees. Toward the foreground is seen a little red-topped cottage, part of which is visible through a portion of the elaborate, transparent head-dress of the Madonna. It is a chapel, perhaps, as it has a cross on top. The coloring of the whole is rich, though somewhat faded. Perhaps the darks have grown darker and the lights lighter. The robe of the Virgin is a dark green of soft, rich tone; the flesh-tints are yellowish. The robe of the laughing angel is of a fine purplish tinge, tipped aside as it is, which brings it more in shade. His white garment in the soft light is delicately felt.

This illustrates a tender and graceful phase of the master's work, and was a favorite subject with him; but to see him in his grandeur we must pay a visit to the Duomo at Prato, a short distance from Florence, where are his most important works — large, grand frescos, which are among the highest creations of the art of the fifteenth century. (See Morelli, "Italian Masters in German Galleries.") I regret very much my inability to engrave an example from these pictures as well; but circumstances were against it, and, after all, no mere detail could convey any idea of their magnificence.

T. C.

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Chapter XV

BENOZZO GOZZOLI

(Born 1420, died 1498)

BENOZZO DI LESE, surnamed Gozzoli after his death, was a favorite pupil of Fra Angelico. Vasari's somewhat amusing commentary on him is that he was "of great invention, very fertile in animals, in perspective, in landscapes, and in ornament. He produced so much during his life that it is plain he cared for no other occupation; and although compared to others who surpassed him in drawing he was not very excellent, yet the amount of work he did placed him ahead of all his contemporaries, because, *in the multitude of his works, some turned out well.*"

At the age of twenty-four he became apprenticed to Ghiberti, to work for three years on the bronze gates of S. Giovanni in Florence, and, either during these years or before 1444, he painted an altarpiece for the Company of S. Marco, and another panel for the church of S. Frediano, both of which have perished. At about this time he visited Rome, where he decorated the chapel of the Cesarini with the history of St. Antonio of Padua, which has also disappeared.

From Rome, Benozzo went to Orvieto with Fra Angelico, his master, to paint the chapel of the Madonna of S. Brizio in the Duomo. In July of 1449 he was again in Orvieto, but alone. Of his work there, nothing remains. In 1450 and 1452 he was painting at Montefalco in Umbria, in 1456 in Perugia, and in 1459 he was again at Florence, decorating the chapel of the Riccardi palace with a representation of a journey of the Magi, which occupied three walls of the chapel, the fourth being taken by an Adoration, which is now removed to make place for a window. We know the date

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of this painting from three letters addressed to Piero Cosimo de' Medici, at his villa of Careggi, in which the artist gives an account of the progress of the fresco.

This work is one of the most remarkable of its epoch, not only for its own qualities, but for the fortunate circumstances which have protected it. It occupies the two sides and entrance end of a small chapel which seems to have been partitioned off from a hall of the palace. Most probably there was originally no window and the chapel had its lighting from lamps, the window being modern; and the ceiling must have been put on after the fresco was done, as there would otherwise have been no light to do it in. Even with the present window it is difficult to see all of it. It represents the procession of the Magi to the stable of Bethlehem, the Adoration being given in the altarpiece, which occupied the place of the present window and is removed. The procession has moved from the right of the altar, and ends with the crowd of all conditions of people which bring up the rear. The retinue includes probably many of the Florentine personages of the day, in contemporary costume, on foot and on horseback; knights in rich, embroidered coats, valets and squires with hounds and hawks, a hunting leopard figuring among the accessories, camels, etc.,—an immense and gorgeous array, winding through a rich and well-invented landscape, up mountain paths, and around in a continual line to the other side of the altar, where they were supposed to offer their gifts. This order was broken by some barbarian of the Riccardi dynasty, who cut through the fresco to put in a passageway and a door, destroying a portion of the procession and moving another, though the original door remains as Benozzo arranged for it.

The progress shown in this picture in the naturalistic movement, in the direction pointed out by Fra Filippo, is most remarkable. The landscape is still purely subjective and devoid of the qualities of outdoor work; but there appears a most noteworthy distinction of specific character in the trees, the evergreen and deciduous pines and cypresses especially being recalled with landscape feeling, and the foreground plants being done in the sentiment of a lover of nature. Though recorded as the pupil of Fra Angelico,—and so far as the processes of his art may be concerned he may have been so, as Fra Angelico was an admirable master of the fresco and tempera processes,—in the spirit of his work, his intellectual and artistic tendencies, Benozzo is the son and heir of Fra Filippo, and his succes-

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sor in the line which Màsaccio had pointed out and the Frate had walked in. There is not only the recognition of the individual type in all his personages, but there is the distinct and undeniable indication of the use of the model through drawings made for all the figures in his compositions. There is no advance toward realism,[1] but a complete abandonment of the visionary and ecstatic type so marked in Fra Angelico. We come down to plain flesh and blood, and every personage in this long procession has posed for the drawing made for it. It is the most extraordinary agglomeration of *pose-plastique* in all the range of the Renaissance; and in the densest part of the crowd, and no matter what his action, every actor turns his face more or less so as to be seen and recognized by those who know him. There is no mistaking that for every one of these heads and all the principal figures careful drawings must have been made from life. Every figure says, "I am being drawn by Benozzo for his great picture of the Magi." It is such a collection of unquestionable portraits as I do not know elsewhere in the world.

The groups of worshiping angels at the right and left of the altar are exquisite testimonials of the influence of Fra Angelico, and their loveliness is rendered by Mr. Cole's selection, as the manner of portraiture is by the head from the crowd at the end of the procession which Benozzo marked as his own. One sees that it is caught from life, but in the way that a sculptor would have studied it, for pure form and character.

In color the work has neither the gaiety of Fra Angelico nor the elementary harmony of Fra Filippo; nor has it, from the very nature of the subject,—being a long procession trailing around the room,—the majesty of composition that he had learned from Masaccio. It is a work in all its qualities *sui generis*. The exclusion of light and weather from it has preserved this great work so completely that we probably see it much as it was when finished.

Gozzoli's frescos in the Campo Santo of Pisa are more deliberately planned and are works of a higher order; but unfortunately, owing to their exposed position and the want of care in times past, they are comparative wrecks, and keep the record, not of their achievement, but of their intention. Here we recognize the influence of Masaccio in the studied and masterly composition, in which the "Noah," the first painted of the series of Bible histories which were his themes,—and which it is said he painted to show his

[1] See definition of "realism" as contrasted with "naturalism" on page 97. W. J. S.

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hand,—is one of the most admirable examples in the range of Italian art, a classic for all the subsequent generations of painters.

In all we have of Benozzo's work there is a cheerful sense of the influences of nature, and a love for children and animals such as we have not before him; and in his painting of children he seems especially happy. In his Campo Santo series he introduces them on every convenient occasion. The individuality of his heads, and even the character of his figures, have that air of unmistakable likeness which belongs to earnest portraiture, and to a degree not indicated in any previous Italian work or in any contemporary prior to Giovanni Bellini, who was eight years the junior of Benozzo.

For the next eight years the artist seems to have been in Florence and its vicinity painting innumerable panels and frescos. For the Company of S. Zenobius he executed a panel; in the church of St. Agostino in San Gimignano a "St. Sebastian delivering the Land from Pestilence," seventeen frescos from the life of St. Agostino, and in the same town a fresco of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. In 1464 he was enrolled among the doctors and apothecaries of Florence. In 1466 he restored a fresco by Lippo Memmi in the town hall of San Gimignano and painted various panels for churches in and near that town.

In 1468 Benozzo went to Pisa for the great series of frescos there and worked for sixteen years, but probably not continuously; and there is a popular tradition that he took only two years over the whole. There were twenty-four in number, and most of them are well enough preserved to follow the intention of the painter; two or three are defaced almost entirely. Vasari speaks most highly of them, though they were not of the taste of his time, and he mentions an ass in the sacrifice of Abraham which was very cleverly foreshortened. In recognition of his skill the Pisans placed an inscription of flattering purport in the midst of his work and gave him a place in the Campo Santo for his grave. As in the procession of the Magi, he introduced in these frescos many portraits, of which Vasari mentions those of Marsilio Ficino, Argiropoulo the Greek scholar, and the artist's own figure on horseback. In Pisa, Benozzo also painted many other frescos and panels, which have disappeared for the most part. One panel, which Vasari considered the best the painter had executed, and which was in the Duomo, a St. Thomas Aquinas disputing with many learned men over his works, is now in the Louvre.[1]

[1] It is an imitation of Traini's which is still in the church of St. Catherine, Pisa. C. F. MURRAY.

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Benozzo was sixty-one when he finished his great task in the Campo Santo. Of the last seventeen years of his life we know very little. In 1484 he was at work on a tabernacle at a place not far from Castel Fiorentino, and in 1497 he is recorded as being called on with other artists to give judgment on the works of Baldovinetti in the Gianfigliazzi Chapel, and in the next year he died, "to the great sorrow of the whole city," as Vasari says, and as one can well imagine; and we are told that during his residence there he had built himself a house which he bequeathed to one of his daughters, and that he had lived a godly and industrious life and was long remembered in the city. The following epitaph was engraved on his tomb:

> Hic tumulus est Benotii Florentini qui proxime has pinxit historias
> Hunc sibi Pisanorum donavit humanitas MCCCCXCVIII.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE detail of the group of angels in adoration by Benozzo Gozzoli is taken from his grand work of the Riccardi Chapel, Palazzo Riccardi, Florence. The walls of this charming little interior are covered "a secco" by one long series representing the Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem, led by the star, to do homage to the child Jesus. The kings in gorgeous state, and mounted upon steeds, are accompanied by a numerous following of knights and pages and such as make up the retinue of monarchs, among whom are said to be portraits of some of the distinguished men of the Medici family and others of the time; that of Benozzo himself is readily observed from his name about his cap.

The solemn procession, beginning from the right of the tribune as you face it, winds around through a luxuriant and varied landscape, and we glance from the rich draperies and accoutrements of the horses and other animals, to the flowery banks; along winding streams; to fruit-trees laden with fruit; to where hunters are chasing the deer; to distant cities, of spires and towers; off to the mountains dotted with villas or clothed with verdure; and to the birds of rich plumage sailing in the azure above. How enchanting, and everything painted with the utmost care and delicacy! The cavalcade ends at the left of the tribune or sanctuary where was the altar. On the walls of either side of this are the groups of adoring angels. Those nearest the altar are kneeling in prayer,—the left-hand group, being the finest, is the one selected for engraving. Those further away are standing in praise. Others are coming down from heaven, while others still are scattered through the lovely garden picking flowers and fruit as offerings. It is a paradise of loveliness. The expression of some of the angels fills one with rapture. Some of the hands and heads recall the ineffable tenderness and deep religious feeling of Fra Angelico, the master of Benozzo. The altarpiece of the Nativity—the culminating point of all—is lost. Some suppose it to be

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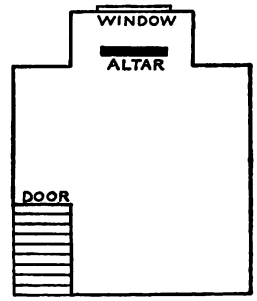
in the private collection of the King of Bavaria, others believe it to be in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, and to have been painted by Filippo Lippi.



PLAN OF THE RICCARDI CHAPEL.

The chapel is small—not measuring more than about 20 x 25 feet. It was completed in 1460 A. D. In a work entitled "Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze"—the second edition of which was published in 1677 by Cinelli—the chapel with its frescos is referred to as about to be demolished, to make way for the new staircase. Subsequent developments show, however, that it was not found necessary to do this,—a corner only of the charming spot was lopped away, which gives to it its present irregular shape: certainly not a "greek cross," as Mrs. Jameson has it. In 1837 the window that gives light to the chapel was enlarged, thus making the paintings visible by daylight. They were then carefully restored,—the choirs of angels on either side of the altar needing the greatest repainting. The restoration appears to have been remarkably well done.

T. C.

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Chapter XVI

ANDREA MANTEGNA

(Born 1431, died 1506)

Mantegna must be ranked among the very few artists of the highest order to whom fortune was always kind and whom every material circumstance in his life led in the direction of his highest abilities. Born near Padua ("of a most humble stock," according to Vasari), only one condition was lacking to his artistic development—that, like Bellini and Raphael, he should have been born into a painter's house. He lived at an age when state and church were more than at any other time in a vein of appreciation of what was best in the art of the day; when that art was also true and progressive; and in a city where the spirit of the day was in a remarkable sympathy with his mental tendencies, intellectual, severe, and genuinely classical, and where the best Italian art of the preceding century had lavished its noblest work: Giotto and some of his best followers formed his taste, and the high-tide of the Renaissance had set in on Padua; Paolo Uccello and Filippo Lippi had painted there; the sculptor Donatello had shown how the antique was to be accepted by the modern artist, not in the inane repetition of accessories and of imaginary prescriptions as in the more modern classical school, but in the Greek manner of seeing nature. Mantegna no doubt saw Donatello's equestrian statue of Gatta-Melata and the marvelous reliefs of S. Antonio fresh from the founder's hands; and though we have no record of his having lived or worked in Venice, it is impossible that with his early intimacy with the Bellini, he having been the fellow-pupil of Giovanni with old Jacopo, he should not often have been in Venice, whose campaniles are almost in sight of Padua; while the vigorous individu-

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ality of the brothers Bellini, his contemporaries and personal friends, was well calculated to made him eclectic and defiant of mere precedent. Squarcione, the master to whom he seems to have owed the earlier part of his technical education, was not, as Vasari takes the pains to tell us, "the finest painter in the world," but he was a more or less original painter who had traveled, and we are told had been to Greece and brought back antiquities which he set his pupils to draw from.[1] But the character of the designs of Mantegna makes it clear that the source of his knowledge of antique art was rather Roman. There is nothing in his manner or material which suggests a direct knowledge of pure Greek architecture, but always of Roman, and it is probable that, in common with his pupil Squarcione, he was carried away by the great Italian Renaissance of which the originators were the Pisani, and which had invaded the Venetian and Tuscan schools before Squarcione began to paint, which is the more indicated in the fact that he began life as a tailor and embroiderer, and had therefore presumably taken up painting comparatively late in life. He probably knew the technical processes of fresco and tempera, and the habit which he formed in his pupils of drawing from the model was probably the substantial part of his teaching, which does not seem to have been very fruitful; for, though his pupils numbered 137, the only two of them who attained distinction were Mantegna and Niccolo Pizzolo. He was probably a simple drawing-master who had not individuality enough to do his pupils either good or harm. In the sacristy of S. Antonio of Padua there are some cupboards in marquetry after his designs and executed by his pupils. To the training in this school, and the habit of drawing from the round which an artist of his intensity was certain to do with great sincerity and elaborateness, we may be indebted for the careful drawing and modeling of the details of his pictures which distinguish Mantegna from all his contemporaries. We found in Benozzo Gozzoli the practice of drawing all the figures from life, and ineffaceably stamped with the *pose-plastique;* but in Mantegna, while the model is generally to be felt, there is more of Donatello's portraiture of the ideal, his realization of a certain conception of character, and in this character an ideal of the antique is to be found. And this ideal in Mantegna is always Roman, as are

[1] It is far more probable that the Greece intended was Constantinople, Greece proper having for centuries been ravaged and desolated by barbarian invasions, and certainly nowhere in the land now known as Greece could he have purchased antiquities.

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his architecture and his decoration. In the fresco of the "Trial of St. James," in the Church of the Eremitani, Padua, the head of the magistrate before whom the saint is brought, or that of the officer who superintends his execution, might have been taken from a Roman portrait, and perhaps they were, for he continually introduces Roman monumental portraits in his ornamentation. But nowhere is there any detail of distinct Greek provenance.

From an inscription which has been preserved—though the picture to which it belonged has not—Mantegna seems to have appeared as an independent painter as early as his seventeenth year. The picture was an altarpiece in the church of S. Sophia, and the inscription was: "*MCCCCXLVIII Andreas Mantineas Patavino ann. septem et decem natus sua manu pinxit.*" This should at least settle the question of his having been born in Padua, and not, as has been suggested, in Vicenza. In 1452, at the age of twenty-one, he was so far a recognized master that he was called to paint the fresco of SS. Bernardino and Antonio over the door of the church of the latter saint in Padua, and in 1453 the Benedictine monks gave him the order to paint the altarpiece for the church of S. Giustina—an arrangement in architectural framing, handed down from Byzantine art and accepted as the orthodox type of altarpiece, with the adaptation of Gothic forms.

According to the letters found by Basquet in the archives of Mantua, Mantegna was under engagement to the Marchese Lodovico Gonzaga soon after to go to that city. The Marchese writes, January 5, 1457, mentioning this engagement and desiring him to leave Padua and come to execute the commissions he had at Verona, where he had also an engagement with the prothonotary and where he would be nearer his new patron. Gonzaga waited fifteen months, during which time Mantegna was at work in the Eremitani, and then renewed his urgency. A subsequent letter was still more pressing and more explicit, offering fifteen ducats a month, with a house for his family, corn for six persons during the year, and wood for all his household uses, and gives till 1459 to finish all other work he may have in hand. Again, fearing that Mantegna would not be punctual, he writes, on the 26th of December, further to impress on him his agreement. Gonzaga is informed by some one who has seen Mantegna that he is still at work for the prothonotary of Verona in January of 1459, and he accords him a new delay of two months. On March 24, Jacomo Marcello, the po-

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desta, begs for a further delay, as Mantegna is at work finishing a little picture for him. On the 4th of May there is another letter pressing the painter to come on to Mantua, and accompanied by twenty ducats for the journey. On the 28th of June the Marchese writes again, "Come for a day to see our chapel." He probably arrived in Mantua at the end of 1459, and after some absences remained there.

This chronicle is of interest as showing how high the painter was in the graces of those whose favor was fame and fortune, and it tells us also the date of the great frescos of the Eremitani, *i. e.*, from 1457 to 1459, before he was thirty years of age, though they may have been begun before the former date.

The work on which he was engaged at Verona was a frame of subjects painted for San Zeno, and the prothonotary who ordered it was Gregorio Corraro, "Abbate Commendatore" of the church. It was composed of six pictures: the upper portion was a Madonna surrounded by angels, with side panels of saints; the lower a Calvary, with side panels of the Resurrection and of Christ on the Mount of Olives. It was carried off to France in 1797, and the lower part still remains there—the "Calvary" in the Louvre, while the side panels are in the Museum of Tours.

Mantegna seems sometimes to have been dissatisfied with his treatment at Mantua: in December, 1466, he writes to the Marchese from Goito, one of the hunting-seats of the latter where the painter was doing some decorations, that he had not had his pay for four months. In this year he was sent to Florence by the Marchese, who was then constructing the greater chapel of the Annunciata. Giovanni Aldobrandini, who had charge of the work, writes to Gonzaga saying that Mantegna had arrived and that he had given some advice on the subject; and in the same year Mantegna writes to Gonzaga to borrow one hundred ducats to enlarge his house, the money to be repaid by keeping back instalments of three or four ducats a month from his salary. In 1468 he writes to complain of the gardener and his wife, whose disorderly conduct annoyed him greatly, as well it might, considering how incessantly he was occupied in the designs of every kind he was making for his patron's country houses, for tapestry, architectural decorations, etc., as well as portraits, as we learn by a letter which the Marchese writes him requesting him to bring the two portraits he had just finished to show to Zanetti of Milan, who was coming expressly to see them.

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In 1472 he goes to Bologna at the desire of Cardinal Gonzaga, who wishes to show him his antiquities, and in 1476 we have a memorandum of the Marchese having given him land near the church of S. Sebastiano to build himself a house.

In 1478 Lodovico died, and Mantegna, full of disquietudes as to his future and his expenses, passed on with other princely appanages to the successor Frederico, who treated the artist with the same indulgence and friendliness that his father had shown to him. There is especial mention of another room at Mantua which Frederico was anxious to have finished that he might occupy it. He died the year that it was finished (1484), and his successor, Giovanni Francesco II., kept up the traditions of the family and of Mantua; but Mantegna had probably the usual fortune of artists, no matter what their stipends, for he writes that year to Lorenzo de' Medici for a little money to enable him to finish his new house, though orders were pouring in on him from the different courts—more, in fact, than he could accept. There is mention of a Madonna painted for the Duchess of Ferrara in 1485, and the same year the Duke of Ferrara mentions having seen him at work on the "Triumphs of Cæsar"; and three years later Pope Innocent VIII. writes to Francesco to lend him his painter for a while. Mantegna went to Rome and decorated the Belvedere chapel, since destroyed, in the Vatican, with four frescos, the "Baptism of Christ," the "Entombment of the Virgin," the "Nativity," and the "Adoration of the Magi," with decorations after his manner in grisaille, "finished like miniatures," as Vasari tells us. Mantegna seems to have remained in Rome two years, for in 1489 Francesco begs the pope to send back his painter for the festivities of his marriage with Isabella d'Este; but he was ill and unable to return till 1490, when he was nearly sixty, but in the height of his powers, as he shows by finishing the "Triumphs of Cæsar" for the San Sebastiano palace in the following year. As extra compensation for this and the decorations of the new room he receives a grant of a piece of land free from taxes. Francesco being commander of the Venetian forces in the war with the French King Charles VIII., Isabella was often regent for him, and was especially gracious to Mantegna and continually asked of him new designs, and his son was employed at court and received a salary. Isabella wished to order a statue to Virgil, and Mantegna made a design which is now in the Louvre, but the statue was never made, the Marchese having many embar-

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rassments at the time. In 1499 Mantegna married his daughter Taddea to Antonio Viani, and gave her a dowry, which shows at least that he was getting forehanded in money matters; though later on, and perhaps in the decay of his powers, he was obliged to sell to Isabella a bust of Faustina to which he was much attached; but this was in 1506, shortly before his death. In 1501 a gentleman of Ferrara writes of having been at a theatrical representation at which the designs of Mantegna, the "Triumph of Petrarch," formed the decoration of the room, and between this and 1505 the lovely decorative designs now in the Louvre had been executed for the Marchesa—"Parnassus" and "Wisdom Triumphing over Vice," which must be ranked among his very best work in refinement and fertility of invention. In 1504 he made his will, leaving an endowment for a chapel to S. Andrea, of which 50 ducats were for the decoration and 100 for the purchase of a piece of ground large enough that the light might not be cut off—a characteristic provision of a painter who had perhaps not always found the corresponding forethought in his patrons. The decorations were to be executed within a year after his death. He afterward added a codicil in favor of an illegitimate son, Giovanni Andrea, the child of a connection formed after the death of his wife. At the age of seventy-three he engaged to paint for Francesco Cornaro, a Venetian, the "Triumph of Scipio," the price being stipulated as 150 ducats; but as he found this too little, he seems not to have gone on with the work, and Cardinal Bembo wrote to the Marchesa in 1505 to beg her to urge Mantegna to go on with it. This is now in the National Gallery of London. It is one of his latest works, and may be the very latest, as he wrote to Isabella in 1506 to say that he had finished the "Comus" she had ordered, adding that he had paid 340 ducats for a house and that his purse was empty. This was the occasion of his offering her the "Faustina," which she sent her bailiff to buy, she being at one of her country houses on account of the plague then raging. As he died five weeks later the "Scipio" must have been painted that year, and remains for us his last work.

He was buried in the chapel he had ordered, where his ashes still lie, with his bust by Speranzio above the grave. Considering the unbroken prosperity of his life, and the uninterrupted favor which he enjoyed with the sovereigns of the little north-Italian states whose capitals were the refuge of all that was most distin-

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guished in art and literature, and whose taste was, for an official taste, singularly good and refined, it is difficult to understand his continual complaints of pecuniary embarrassment. His sons, of whom he had two legitimate and one illegitimate, may have brought him into difficulties, and we know that Francesco, the one who was in the service of the court of Mantua, fell into disgrace and was exiled, but we have no hint of his personal extravagance. On the contrary, the devotion to his art, shown by the enormous amount of work, involving the most concentrated effort, which he maintained to the last days of his life, denies the suspicion of any irregularities or excesses; and the singular absence of the sensuous element in his work — its dry, severe, and imaginative intellectuality — indicates its remoteness from the common temptations of the artistic temperament: next to Michelangelo Mantegna rises into the serene regions of abstract intellect.

As an artist he must rank with the very greatest whose works we possess. Color is to him only the means to the same end as his minute finish, *i. e.*, the complete representation of whatever he undertook to tell. Invention and imagination were in him at their maximum, and to these he added a scientific and archæological fervor quite his own, the combination of which qualities gives him a position apart from all other painters. The reproach that his master Squarcione brought against him, that his works were conceived in the spirit of sculpture, is only so far justified as that he cared nothing for color *per se;* and as was the habit of his time, even in the Venetian school, he never painted direct from nature, but from drawings which must have been of extreme finish and naturally in monochrome, or with but slight indication of color, and that conventional rather than realistic. He was an idealist of intense vision, and his reproduction of his conceptions has only that in common with the modern idea of realism which any intensely elaborate representation must have. It was this intensity of imagination which led up to his introduction into art of the element of emotional expression, which no preceding artist, with the exception of Giotto,— and he to a very limited extent,—had ever before made the object of his art. The student of early Italian art, if he follow his studies in Florence and with the system which they require, will, when he comes to make the acquaintance of the little triptych from which the illustration of Mr. Cole has been taken, find in that example something of which he had never before noted the existence — the

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pathos in the face of the little Jesus, who, shrinking from pain, turns to his mother for a refuge, to which the grave, pathetic face of the mother responds, as who should say, "Cruel, inexorable fate"; and that of the high priest, with the kindly pity of a tender-hearted surgeon who performs an operation which cannot be escaped. This triptych was painted in Mantua soon after Mantegna arrived there, and Vasari mentions it as "Una tavoletta non molto grande ma bellissima" ("A panel not very large but most beautiful"). Of the "Calvary" from the altarpiece of S. Zeno, already mentioned as being in the Louvre, it has been said that "it is one of the finest works of art the world has ever produced." Although classifications of this kind are not always easy to justify and never possible to prove correct, I am not disposed to quarrel with it, for certainly in the quality of dramatic expression, which is its highest artistic motive, no painter has ever surpassed Mantegna; and the subject of this composition, the crucifixion, was that which, to the devout Christianity in which the painter was educated and for which he worked, made the highest demand on his powers of delineation and called out his greatest intensity. The Virgin sinks fainting into the arms of her women—a heterodox conception of the event, as I had to notice in the case of Masaccio, who shows the same sign of the merely human nature of the Virgin, who is supposed by the Church to have borne the great sorrow without yielding to human weakness; a disciple tells his pain by a gesture of desperation; and the faces of the bystanders betray an emotion in complete sympathy with the great woe of the consummation of the divine sacrifice; their eyes are red with weeping, and their lips are parted in their pain. It is this command of the expression of dramatic emotion that distinguishes Mantegna from all his predecessors and contemporaries. The elaboration of his detail is not so intense as that of Gentile da Fabriano, or more tender than that of Fra Angelico: his archæology is not an artistic quality, but a purely scientific one; but in this power of rendering the pathos of the sacred emotion, the tragedy of the sacred history without a tinge of exaggeration or the least display of the *pose-plastique*,—a power given only to the most vivid imagination,—he is rivaled only by Giotto, and Giotto was too impetuous in his nature and too much driven by the exuberance of his invention to delay over the subtleties of expression and delight in the elaboration of suffering, as Mantegna could and did.

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Of his extraordinary fertility of production it is hardly necessary to speak, for the number of works I have mentioned would fill the life of an ordinary painter; but his frescos have mostly disappeared. He painted the façade of the Pescheria Vecchia at Verona and the upper part of the façade of a house near the gate of the Borsari belonging to Niccolo Giolfino, his painter friend, with whom he stayed, and he made many engravings of his works. He is chiefly to be known by these engravings and his easel-pictures, and is best studied at Paris and London. With the exception of passages of the St. Christopher subjects, the Eremitani pictures (Padua) are in good condition, though I find some difficulty in accepting the decorative part of the upper two subjects of the St. James series as by Mantegna. But the work of this kind unmistakably by him is of a delicacy that is scarcely approached by any other work of the kind. The modeling of the fruits, the pine-cones, and the ears of grain in the lower frames is as delicate as if they were human heads;—nothing is slighted, or treated as if it were of less importance.

The perspective of these pictures is evidently something on which Mantegna prided himself, and on which he spent a great deal of labor, but it is, in my opinion, the weakest point of all those involved in his art. It is laborious, ostentatious, and in the main overdone. It is done by rule and calculation, and does not betray the eye for perspective which we found, for instance, in Giotto. It has the effect of photographic perspective as given by wide-angle lenses when the subject is so near the camera that it seems distorted. We seem to be under the buildings of Mantegna. This is especially the case with the subject in which St. James on his way to be judged stops to bless and heal a believer, evidently a blind man. At the left of the picture is a tower in the middle distance, which he has put askew on the street, apparently to show his knowledge of perspective, and he has drawn it wrong. In one of the St. Christopher subjects he has made the architectural elevation of his principal building with an elaborate pergola covered with a vine in full bearing, the grapes hanging through the interstices, the whole like an architectural drawing, and in the second distance is a brick building in which every brick is pointed with the most exemplary patience and quite correct; but between this and the next important building he seems to have found it necessary to put in a bit of unimportant brick wall, also pointed with care but utterly wrong in

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perspective, and so conspicuously so that if he had had a correct eye for perspective he must have seen it to be so. In the "Martyrdom of St. James" a railing separates the spectator from the action. Just beyond lies the saint, and above him stands the executioner; but a soldier, who also stands on the other side, leans over the railing to the side of the spectator to see the execution. The impression produced is that the mallet with which the saint is to be killed is going to spend its blow on the railing.

The landscape is formal but full of invention of delicate detail: a fig-tree in one of the St. Christopher subjects and an oak in the St. James are drawn leaf for leaf and the stems carefully modeled. The minuteness throughout is amazing, and the compositions are full of little incidents of by-play—people happening to look out of the windows, side conversations, friezes in the architecture, medallions, etc.; and considering the period in his life at which these works were executed and their relation to previous work, we must recognize in them the justice of the claim which has been put forward for them of being the most important mural painting of northern Italy. The frescos in the castle at Mantua have disappeared, with the exception of a portion of those in the room called the Camera de' Sposi, of which there are some remains. Those of the room which Frederico was so anxious to have finished are effaced, and the frescos painted for the pope were destroyed in enlarging the Vatican Museum, having already gone out of favor in Rome.

Of his easel-pictures the "Madonna della Vittoria," now in the Louvre, painted in commemoration of the battle of Taro, is considered the best; but to my feeling the triptych in the Uffizi holds that place, and for the qualities in it that I have described.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE Mantegna triptych, from which the detail of "The Circumcision" is taken, is in the tribune of the Uffizi, Florence, and is composed of the "Adoration of the Magi," "The Circumcision," and "The Ascension" (improperly styled "The Resurrection"). The whole measures, with the frame, seven feet wide by three feet seven inches high. It is painted in tempera on panels. The panel to the right is "The Circumcision," and is thirty-four inches high by seventeen inches wide, and the figures measure from ten and a half inches to twelve inches high. By taking this portion only I was enabled to get at the expression of the faces and the detail, which is remarkable for delicacy of finish, though this has been to the sacrifice of the full length of the figures and the grouping of

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them, which is very graceful; and also of the lofty and beautiful interior of the temple, which, however, could never receive justice in a small engraving. The group is composed of the Madonna and Child, accompanied by two female attendants, and a child who is standing near the skirt of the foremost. The priest is accompanied by the altar-boy, and following him is Joseph, who carries a small basket containing the "pair of turtle doves," the offering for a sacrifice according to the law (Luke ii. 24). Behind the priest rises a yellow jasper pillar for some two thirds of the distance up. This is surmounted by an ornamental capital in gray marble of a warm tone, from which spring two arches of the same material, to the upper corners of each side. In the space above and between the two arches is a triangular panel of a variegated, deep-colored marble, with a seraph painted in gold upon it, ornamentally filling the space with its outstretched wings. Beneath the arches are semicircular panels of dark spotted green marble, illuminated with scriptural subjects painted in gold. These are deeply framed in a frieze of dark red granite illuminated in gold with ornamental scrolls of foliage. The panels thus framed are supported by pilasters on each side of the jasper pillar, of the same dark red granite, and illuminated in gold in the same manner, and having fine capitals of the same material. The spaces on each side of the pilasters and beneath the panels just described are filled, that to the right of the priest by a sideboard in marble, the upper portion of which is composed of four panels of precious marble or jasper of various glowing hues. These are framed in marble of a soft gray dove-color. The lower portion of the sideboard is of the same gray marble formed in panels decorated in low relief with sculptures of foliage in ornamental designs. This space forms the background to the standing figure of Joseph and the altar-boy. The space answering to this to the left of the Virgin, and forming the background to the two attendant females, is filled by two oblong panels of dark wood highly ornamented in gold, framed in the dove-colored marble, and capped by a beautiful sculpture of two cornucopias mingling their fruits and flowers. The pavement is checkered with alternate squares of dark red spotted granite and yellow Siena marble. The beauty and finish of all this work are indescribable. What patience it must have required, for instance, to work in the infinitesimal and innumerable spots in the dark red granites, and each with its characteristic shape and various color, and the delicate, soft graining, veins, and clouds of the various colored marbles and rich jaspers, and the exquisite finish of the gold illuminations — all true to nature. But outvying these tints are the rich hues of the draperies. That of the Madonna is of a deep rich shade of peacock-blue; the folds are illuminated with touches of gold that sparkle and blend with the drapery, the variety and grace of the forms being most pleasing to look upon. Her underskirt is of a garnet shade, illuminated in like manner with gold in the high lights. The robe of the priest is of a rich, soft shade of ultramarine blue of a changeable hue, being shot with purple in the part over the breast where it recedes from the high light of the shoulder. The ornamental border is of gold upon a ground of deep blue or bright crimson, according to the pattern. His white garment and the towel falling over his shoulder — beneath the other portion of which the form of his hand is clearly marked as it gently supports the thigh of the Child — are of a soft, cool, creamy shade tinged with blue. The folds are strongly marked, with delicate ones in low relief playing in between. The linen head-dress of the Madonna is thus treated, also the white robe of the altar-boy, the head-dresses of the female attendants,

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and the towel which the older one holds. Their charm of color depends upon viewing them in their proper relation to the surrounding brilliant hues; for when looked at near and out of this relation they appear quite warm and yellowish in tone, but from a few feet and as a whole, their juxtaposition to the rich garnet and yellow robe of Joseph, and the brilliant vermilion of the dress of the Child, renders them of a cool and bluish cast, and the difference is surprising.

The flesh-tints throughout are warm and glowing, and have all the depth and softness of nature. I was much struck with this on looking through my magnifying-glass at the face of the priest: the softness and decision of the detail, the quick intelligence of the eye, and the mobility and tenderness of the expression made me smile at my audacity in attempting such wonders by great coarse lines in boxwood.

But how my heart beat when I came to the face of the child Jesus! I always leave the most difficult part of my work till the last, so that while engaged upon the easier portions I have time to study over and work up gradually to the climax. Fortunately on this I had the benefit of Mr. C. F. Murray's criticisms, as he happened in at the Uffizi when I had about finished the block. The appealing look the Child casts to his mother, and her sympathy, are very touching. I had to do every stroke on this block before the original, or rather in another room next to where the picture hangs, and this kept me running in and out the whole time, so that I was enabled to accomplish but very little in a day; the original being marvelously finished and exquisite in detail, and the photograph being very bad and quite altered in the expression of the heads, I was kept down to every eighth of an inch.

MANTEGNA AS AN ENGRAVER ON COPPER

MANTEGNA was a famous engraver on copper, and was among the first who practised the then new art. His style is grand, and it is a pleasure to note the vigor and spring of his lines. He cuts everything — drapery and all — in slanting lines, all in one direction, and it is wonderful how he suggests the form of things in so simple a manner. Everything yields to the power and magic of his touch. His marvelous mechanical dexterity, unerring precision, and perfect mastery of the smallest part of his art are here displayed in all their energy and brilliancy. With what vim he runs through a background, making each line sparkle with life and character! With what freedom and nonchalance he dashes off his heads; as in his Bacchanalian pieces! He must have cut with lightning-like rapidity; and he drew in much of his work with the tool as he went along. The directness with which he plows along is amazing. How fearlessly he takes his trenchant blade in hand! What a sculptor he appears in the faces of his "Battle of the Sea Gods"! The forms of his lights, so delicate and true, appear as though freshly chiseled out in marble, and shine like silver. I could dwell for hours over this exciting work. Every line is electric and bristling in sympathy with the fury of the scene.

Then, too, the charming grace and airy lightness of his engraving of the "Dancing Nymphs"! Buoyant, classic forms tripping hand in hand in breezy movement, with flutter of flying draperies, all in a delicate silvery key. Nothing more completely translates one into the realm

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of the mythological than his treatment of such themes. His masterpiece on copper is his engraving of the "Entombment of Christ," and in this he rises to a sublime height.

Raphael must have dwelt over this marvelous work. This is clearly perceptible in his treatment of the same subject in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, where the figures bearing the body of our Lord walk backward.

Considering the few engravings made by Mantegna,—not more than twenty or twenty-five,—the virility and freedom of his technique are all the more remarkable.

T. C.

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CHAPTER XVII

GIOVANNI BELLINI

(Born 1427?, died 1516)

THE author of the article on G. Bellini in the encyclopedic "Art and Artists of the Middle Ages and Renaissance" of Dr. Dohme bases his treatise on a remarkable sample of the shallow profundity with which the study of art has been obscured by so many of the German critics, deep in their research and authoritative in their statements of fact, but, from Winckelmann down, utterly uncomprehending in their theories of art. He says "Venice was seized later than any other part of Italy by the artistic movement." This is so curiously untrue that one is obliged to conclude that the author had never been in Venice; or, if so, that he had visited only the Accademia and the churches in search of pictures. The fact is that in no part of Italy was the "artistic movement" so early or so spontaneous. When every other section of Italy owed all its art to the Lombards or Germans, and the only vestige of art of any form was Gothic or Byzantine, without any modification, as just before Cimabue, Venice had already asserted her artistic vitality by the assimilation and individualization of all that was vital and artistic in the arts of Byzantium. When St. Mark's was being built, there was no art in Tuscany which was worth mentioning, nor was there ever any native art in Rome. Until Giotto came on the scene there was more art and more "artistic movement" in Venice than in all the rest of Italy besides, but it was not in the form of religious painting, which seems to be all that our German author has any perception of. Most of the earliest painting has perished, but the mosaics of St. Mark's remain,

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with the Cathedral itself and the Ducal Palace, to defy the western world of that epoch to measure itself collectively with the "city of the lagoons."

But in Venice the life of the individual was lost in that of the state. The passion for state ceremonials and the splendor of state pageants were enough to absorb the artistic feeling of the people; and as nobody lived for himself, so nobody thought of ordering pictures for himself. The main motive of all private encouragement of art in all ages has been personal vanity or desire for the approbation of one's fellow-citizens. These motives were rigorously suppressed by the Venetian polity; and all that existed in Venice before a time much later than the beginnings of a Venetian school of painting, be it art, be it riches, be it manhood itself, existed solely for the state. The aristocracy itself, to which our German author attributes so much, diverted only at a later period the art of Venice to the building and decoration of its private palaces; for there was never a time subsequent to A. D. 800 at which Venice had not more art in its architecture than all the rest of Italy together, if we leave out the Norman and Saracenic work in Sicily. That Venetian art did not take the form of painting is a consideration of no importance.

But from the purely artistic point of view, as distinguished from the didactic, Venetian art as soon as it began to show itself in forms of pictorial convention, began to differentiate from all other Italian art. The school of Murano may be taken as a reflection of the mosaic school, which from the eighth century must have been of great importance in Torcello and Venice; but the Vivarinis had a distinct and influential lead in the painting of the state. Of the brothers Antonio and Giovanni (called the German) we know only that they painted always together in the first half of the fifteenth century. There is in the Accademia a picture signed "Joannes et Antonius de Murano f MCCCCXXXX," and the last record we have of them is in the occurrence of the name of Antonio as witness of a document in 1452; and we have no evidence of Giovanni having worked with him later than 1447, when their names occur for the last time together. Bartolommeo, who is the best-known of the family, is said to have been a brother of Antonio; but I am inclined to suspect a confusion of names, as he must have been about forty years younger than Antonio, his pictures being dated as late as 1499, forty-seven years later than any occurrence of the name

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of Antonio. He was the contemporary of Jacopo Bellini, the father of Giovanni and Gentile, though somewhat younger, and most certainly exercised an influence on the sons, as his pictures give the first indication of the color motive which became the characteristic of Venetian art. He, perhaps in common with Jacopo, had been influenced by Gentile da Fabriano, as the latter had been by Flemish art; and it is possible that to the younger Van Eyck was due the first suggestion of the quest of pure color of the painters of Venice.

Giovanni Vivarini had probably received a part at least of his art education in Germany; and it is not likely that he was ignorant of oil painting, as Bartolommeo worked in both oil and tempera. But oil as a vehicle had been used by Pietro della Francesca, and I believe by Filippo Lippi, so that the reputed introduction of the method by Antonello da Messina must be apocryphal. Many influences may therefore have combined to give birth to the peculiarly Venetian school, but those influences, so far as they were exotic, were common to all Italian art; it was only when they fell on the Venetian nature that they produced a distinctive fruit. Even the triumphs of Titian never communicated their influence to any other school. In Venice the development of color is normal and complete: it begins with Vivarini, possibly contemporaneously with old Jacopo Bellini; and in Giovanni—Giambellino he is always called by the old writers—is seen in all its stages but the final, which it reaches with Giorgione and Titian, in whom for the first time is seen the full power of a musical chord.

Meyer ("Künstler Lexikon") says that the brothers Bellini studied perspective under Girolamo Malatini, who was at that time a teacher of mathematics in Venice. In 1454 the family moved to Padua, where, he says, the brothers came into contact with Mantegna, who entered into the most intimate relations with the family, and finally married the sister Niccolosia. The relations of the two great masters of north-Italian art have been much and conjecturally discussed, but we must remember that Bellini was now twenty-six —according to Sir F. W. Burton possibly twenty-eight—and Mantegna twenty-three, and had been an independent master since he was seventeen. We are told that Squarcione, the master of Mantegna, had broken off his relations with him on account of his defection to the Bellinis; but this must be a supererogation, since Mantegna had been working in his own name for six years. It has

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been said that the work of the two masters at a certain epoch is hardly to be distinguished, which is surprising considering the essentially different nature of their temperaments. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the probability that they both were at one time pupils of old Jacopo; for Meyer says that "it is clear from the book of drawings now in the British Museum, from the hand of Jacopo, the father, that both Mantegna and Giovanni borrowed certain portions of their designs from this book." This book was done in 1430. Is it not probable, then, that at some earlier time, and before the manner of either of the young painters had become to any extent individualized, they had been pupils of Jacopo?

The first work that the Bellinis were engaged in at Padua, so far as we know, was the altarpiece in the Gatta-Melata chapel of S. Antonio, but, as is shown by an inscription, the father considered his sons as independent masters and as employed by him as such. Jacopo Bellini died in Padua and the brothers returned to Venice, where we find Giovanni at work in 1464 on some pictures for the school of S. Girolamo, now the "Ateneo" of Venice. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that nothing is extant of this period except the Pieta of 1472 in the Ducal Palace. In 1472 he painted the altarpiece of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, supposed to be the last of his works in tempera, and in 1473, according to Meyer, both he and Bartolommeo Vivarini became acquainted with the work of Antonello in oil, through a "Madonna and Child" by the last, executed for S. Cassiano in Venice. In 1478 Giovanni painted the altarpiece of S. Giobbe in oil, and Vasari tells how he was, on account of this work and the earlier one in SS. Giovanni and Paolo, invited to decorate the council chamber in the Doge's palace. Gentile, the elder brother, had already been commissioned with this work in 1474, but on his being sent to Constantinople at the request of the Sultan, Giovanni was called in to fill his place, his entry on this post being in 1479; and his compensation was to be the first vacant reversion to the office of "broker" in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, a position which was apparently a sinecure with some profitable privileges. In 1480 a new grant was made of eighty ducats a year in the interim, with a provision for the expense of colors and implements, so that he should be of an unconcerned mind and nourish himself and his family, which is the only indication that remains to us of his having a family or of his personal history. Three years later he is

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freed of all expenses on account of his gild, so that he can without any anxiety give himself to the work which the state had assigned him. At the same time (1483) he is named "Pictor Nostri Domini" (the Doge) and painter to the state. In 1481 both brothers were at work in the council chamber of the Ducal Palace, and in 1488 Giovanni began executing his own designs there—an item of information which gives us an idea of the deliberation and preparation with which he approached his work. For, though he had always been allowed to give time to private commissions, and, in fact, had so many of them that the Signiory, in 1494, finding him too much occupied with these private commissions, threatened to employ Perugino with him, which menace brought him again to his official work, and though he is seen to have interrupted it to paint a "Baptism of Christ" for the church of the Santa Corona in Vicenza, he was nine years preparing his designs for this work.

In 1488 Luigi Vivarini was appointed to work with Bellini in the council chamber at the salary of sixty ducats a year, together with his journeymen. Of all the work here executed, historical subjects, portraits of the Doges, decorations, etc., comprising the better part of the life labor of one of the noblest of painters, nothing remains, the conflagration of 1577 having swept it all away. What remains to us are the altarpieces which Giovanni painted for the Venetian churches, and a few mythological subjects of his later years. He is to be studied mainly in Venice, where most of the altarpieces which were painted for the churches of the city are collected in the Accademia, a few being still exposed to the smoke of the candles of the altars[1] and the chances of conflagration such as that which destroyed one of the chief of them, the great altarpiece of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, burned through the idiotic carelessness (it deserves no weaker phrase, though the popular opinion in Venice is that the priests of the church lighted the fire intentionally, to punish the Government for the removal to the Accademia of so many of the church pictures) of the ecclesiastical authorities, to which was also due the destruction at the same time of one of the masterpieces of Titian—the "Peter Martyr." These altarpieces generally follow a conventional scheme of Bellini's adoption: the Virgin, seated on a throne and under a canopy, is surrounded by saints and angels, the latter sometimes playing on musical instruments, and with a land-

[1] The last time I was in Venice I saw the Titian of S. Salvatore with the lower part of the canvas spattered all over with the wax of the candles of the altar. W. J. S.

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scape showing on both sides of the throne.[1] The feeling of the whole is naturalistic without in the least tending to realism: the passages of open sky; the trees and distant mountains, which Giovanni seems sometimes to crowd into the composition at the risk of its harmony; the naïve and easy attitudes of the Virgin and Child; the studied arrangement of the folds of his draperies; and the warm glow of the flesh-tints, which, though not at all realistic, still convey the idea of living flesh more distinctly than if they were so—all these qualities, new to the art of that day and probably more surprising than in ours, still distinguish the work of Bellini among the painters of Italy. To my mind one of the most important of his pictures is the "Peter Martyr" of the National Gallery of London. It might be considered the forerunner of modern landscape painting if it were alone in his art. The figures are of little importance compared with those in his church pictures generally, and are in an important landscape, by which the painter, as by the naturalistic treatment of the subject, may have intended to distinguish this particular modern martyrdom from those of the early days of Christianity. The background against which the figures are relieved is a thicket of laurel, each leaf carefully touched and each group carefully composed, not from nature, but from knowledge of the tree, no endeavor being apparent to realize the actual effect of foliage, but the aim being simply to dwell inexhaustibly on the lovely forms of the laurel leaf in its varying positions. In the distance is a lovely hill landscape in the sunlight with an Italian town of the day rising

[1] The charming picture of the Madonna and Child, enthroned with SS. Peter, Catherine, Lucia, and Jerome, in S. Zaccaria of Venice, is one of the best of these. The Madonna is seated on a high Renaissance throne, the Child standing on her knee with his left foot on her left hand—very human and real both of them. Behind the throne is the usual canopy with Renaissance ornament on the terminal pilasters, the dark hollow of its concavity furnishing the required mass of shadow which relieves the group on the throne and the throne itself. On one of the steps to the throne sits a lovely little angel in dark green and yellow robes, playing on a viol. Sta. Lucia at the right (spectator's) shows an exquisite fair profile quite individual and portrait-like. She is dressed in a gray-blue and red drapery. St. Catherine is opposed to her formally in the composition, and in the arrangement of color, a dark mass. They face each other. SS. Peter and Jerome are in similar manner opposed to each other, and at each side of the canopy is a narrow strip of landscape, on one side a fig-tree and on the other an elm or an ash—for the species is not always well marked. The draperies of the two are large and carefully composed and contrasted, St. Peter's gathered up on his left arm, like a toga, while the folds of St. Jerome's fall from the waist in straight lines. The fondness for Renaissance ornament is one of the things in which Giovanni resembles Mantegna, but this was characteristic of the epoch. The most lovely Renaissance churches that have ever been built were being raised in Venice, and in architecture as in sculpture the Renaissance was in its fullest life. Donatello had been in Padua a splendid example of the vitality of the "new birth," and there was the greatest danger that the Ducal Palace, after the fire of 1577, would be pulled down and rebuilt in the pure Renaissance, so entirely had the Renaissance come to reign in Venice. W. J. S.

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beyond the grove. It is a work of Giovanni's old age, painted in 1514, when he was eighty-six. This must have been about the time when Albert Dürer visited him, and wrote the letter which is one of the most interesting items of personal knowledge of Bellini's character we have, and is fortunately preserved textually. Dürer writes to a friend:

> I have many good friends among the Italians who tell me I should not eat and drink with Italian painters [pointing clearly to the danger of being poisoned through jealousy, a curious testimony to the moral character of the men who were, as we now imagine, so filled with the religious sentiment in their art, but who, as we see by other incidents, even in the life of Bellini, were full of professional envy and animosity]. Many are inimical to me, and also imitate my work when they see it in the churches; they also blame it because they say it is not in the old style, therefore not good, but Giambellino has praised me much, before many noble people. He would much like to have something of mine, and came himself to me and begged me to do something for him and he would pay me well. And every one says what an upright man he is. I am much attached to him. He is very old, but still the best in painting.

Dürer's testimony is important, for he was an artist of the intellectual type and that which furnishes the soundest criticism of the art of others. When, therefore, he, with the work of Titian—then in his prime—before him, says that Bellini is the best painter of Venice, he pronounces a judgment which deserves the gravest consideration, for he knew his art theoretically and practically, and was at the same time so broad in his feeling that he was not, like a painter of more limited if more intense sympathy, likely to take a partial view of the art of another painter, and his words encourage me in my own judgment of Giovanni, that he held the position in the school of Venice that Phidias did in that of Greece; he was at that summit level of art at which all the best elements and all the classic dignity and severity were still preserved, and the sensuous element was kept in check by the intellectual and the feeling for the ideal in form. Later, Giorgione and Titian revel in a far more complete abandon to the fascinations of art and in the pursuit of "art for art's sake," just as in the Greek school Praxiteles and Scopas carried the triumphs of art, if not its refinements, to a stage beyond the Phidian. We give an intellectual adhesion to the preëminence of the Elgin marbles; but, in my opinion, every artist who is honest with himself says to himself that he enjoys the Hermes and the Venus of Milo more than the pediment of the Parthenon, just as he prefers the "Sacred and Profane Love" to a

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masterpiece of Giovanni Bellini. And we must remember that the great work of Bellini's life went in the conflagration of the Ducal Palace, and that what we have is mainly the things he did to live by or to lay up money. Titian is sometimes reckless of his own reputation and is feebler than himself, but Bellini in the work of his eighty-sixth year is as firm in his touch and as severe in his purpose as in the earliest picture we have of his. Titian carries the power of color further and gives its orchestration a sweep which Bellini could not have approved, but Bellini's were the principles and the patterns which Titian only embroidered on—that poetry of color in which the truth of nature transcends her facts and sends her messages of beauty home to the heart in a passion which the severest prose version can never awaken. The Giottesques, even down to Gozzoli, had employed color as the means of brightening the church, and the Florentine Renaissance used it as the matter-of-fact language of nature, her prose; but Bellini, and the Venetians with him, sought it as music, and wrought out its contrasts and chords to heighten its brilliancy or intensify its tenderness, or subdued its crudity to the warmth and glow of flesh, or to the pathos of twilight on the landscape.

The question of the introduction of oil-color has an enormous importance in the history of Venetian art. I have expressed doubt that Antonello could have been the first to bring the new vehicle to the knowledge of Bellini. As its use is indisputable in the pictures of Pietro della Francesca, and I believe of Filippo Lippi, who was in Padua, it is hardly possible that in the studies of the Vivarinis the knowledge of it should not have been included. But used as a simple vehicle to hold the pigment, and in solid painting, oil presents to a painter who is a thorough master of his material no advantage whatever. Tempera, on the contrary, had some advantages which recommend it even to our own times. A painter who is certain of his work can give it a brilliancy and prismatic force with almost absolutely permanent value such as cannot be attained in a similar use of oil as the vehicle, *i. e.*, when both are used in solid and opaque tints. But when the oil is used as a transparent vehicle and the system of execution becomes more or less a process of glazing, the character of the work is transformed and the increase of power and brilliancy in the tints is enormous. And this it is which enabled Bellini to elaborate a system of color which would have been impossible to a painter in tempera or fresco.

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In these vehicles the last tint covers all that went before, so that the gradual increase of force or the studied adjustment of the opposition or harmony of the tints is impossible. In transparent color a painter may tune his work as he would a violin, and arrive at an exactitude of distinction which is out of the question in tempera. But other painters have used the same means to very little effect. Bellini had learned the use of some vehicle which did not blacken with time, and the careful and most deliberate preparation of his work, which is betrayed by the precision of his drawing even in the least important accessories, gave to his manner a sureness and firmness of execution of the highest importance in any method, but especially in that which he finally adopted.

But these are mechanical elements of art. All the scientific and all the theoretical knowledge, as well as all the power of drawing, of Michelangelo would have been in vain had not the Venetian temperament—the sentiment of and delight in color, which no other school has ever developed—been implanted in Bellini. He found the music of color, but where we need not attempt to discover. Mystery of genius! Here we drop analysis; here the vivisection of the soul, were it possible, alone could help us.

Bellini died on the 29th of November, 1516, and was buried beside his brother Gentile in the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo. Over his tomb ought to be inscribed, "He gave to the world a new art."

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

VENICE, August 23, 1889.—The "Madonna and Child Enthroned," of the Frari Church at Venice, forms the altarpiece of the sacristy. It measures, inclusive of its frame, about 8½ feet in width, and is composed of three panels separated from one another by the framework. The central one, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned under a canopy, is higher than the two side ones by some 29 or 30 inches. It is 31 inches wide by about 75 inches high, and is arched at the top. In the detail given I have left out this canopy from where the arch begins to spring, in order to get the main portion as large as possible on the block, thus cutting off some twenty odd inches of the original. The rest of the panel is given entire.

The panels on each side are 19 inches wide by about 46 inches high, and represent the four Evangelists standing, two on each panel. The whole is inclosed in a beautiful frame richly ornamented with arabesques in low relief. It consists of a predella, upon which rest four pilasters which separate the panels from each other. These are surmounted by cornices over the side panels, while from those portions of the cornices supported

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by the inner pilasters springs the arch over the center panel. Over the cornices of the side panels, and surmounting the framework proper, are grotesque figures of winged mermaids whose fish-like bodies wind and end in scrolls. There are two over each side panel, between two handsome candlesticks. The arched center panel is capped by a handsome ornament of fruit mingled with grotesque fish, from the center of which rises an urn from which flames ascend, as from the candlesticks also.[1] The frame forms part of the picture, and is repeated in it; as for instance in the side panels where the pilasters of the exterior of the frame are shown in perspective behind the Evangelists. So are they seen in the center panel receding in perspective and forming the support to the cornice running round behind the Madonna.

The work is painted on wood, in oil apparently, and is very rich and mellow in coloring. Above the Madonna is a dome filling the arch. This is heaven opened, and is formed of golden clouds parting to each side, disclosing a glory of light. Here appears a Latin inscription of two lines to the Madonna. This golden portion seems to glow with a light of its own — an effect obtained perhaps by glazing upon a gold ground. The background behind the Madonna, and below the warm marble cornice, is of a deep rich carmine burning like a ruby. It is ornamented with a pattern in gold, which in the lighted portion sparkles with a soft and quiet luster. The drapery is of a rich, harmonious blue, the dark folds of which are intensely deep. The underrobe is red, similar in tone to the background, but brighter. The throne is of a reddish-brown marble, glowing golden on the lighted side, while the clouds and veins in the marble give added richness of color. Bellini's name, in gold, is inscribed in the middle, with the letter F (*fecit*) beneath and the date 1488. The flesh-tints are mellow and bright as though illuminated by a golden light. How charming are the angels at the foot of the throne — the one crowned with myrtle piping, the other accompanying his song on the lute! How buoyant and resolute the Child stands! The Mother scarcely rests her hands upon him. The Child occupies a height in the picture of fifteen inches.

T. C.

[1] Evidently a later addition to the decoration of the frame. W. J. S.

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Chapter XVIII

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

(Born 1435, died 1488)

Andrea, son of Michele, the son of Francesco dei Cioni, was born in Florence in 1435, and, like his brother Thomas, received the surname "Verrocchio" from their first master, the goldsmith Giuliano Verrocchi. The father, Michele, lived, as it is recorded, in the Via S. Agnolo, in the parish of S. Ambrogio, and, according to Dohme, he was a stove-builder and afterward a sculptor. There is a notice of him in 1456 as a seller in the Custom House. Cavalcaselle makes the father's name Domenico and Michele to be the grandfather, and says that Domenico's trade was that of a goldsmith. Both agree that Andrea's first steps in art were in the goldsmith's shop; and Vasari tells of some heads of bishops' staffs which he made for the Duomo of Florence (of which one is believed by Dohme to be in the National Museum), and of several pieces of repoussé gold and silver work, especially two cups, one decorated with animals and foliage considered so beautiful that other artists had casts of it as models, and another with a relief of dancing children. Baldinucci refers his readers to a rare manuscript which shows that Andrea was a pupil of Donatello, who we know passed the latter part of his life in Florence, where he had a number of pupils, among them Pollaiuolo and Andrea del Verrocchio.[1] Verrocchio's first work of any importance of which we know was done while working with Donatello—the marble basin still existing in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Cellini tells us that Verrocchio continued the goldsmith's trade till he was thirty years old; and as Donatello died in 1466,—*i. e.*, when Verrocchio was

[1] He also learned much from Fra Filippo, if he was not his pupil. C. F. Murray.

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thirty-one,—it is possible, as Dohme conjectures, that the latter finished the basin, in which two distinct styles of workmanship are evident. The archives show that in 1467 a certain sum was paid to Verrocchio for the casting of the bronze doors modeled by Luca della Robbia for S. Lorenzo; and it was he who cast the huge bronze ball which Brunelleschi designed for the crowning of the lantern of the dome of the cathedral of Florence. It was a colossal work for its time, weighing 4368 Florentine pounds of twelve ounces, including the cross which surmounted it, both being gilt. The order was given in 1467, and the casting was in place by 1472. This ball was struck by lightning in 1600 and demolished, and was replaced by one still larger.

Like some other works which are more noticeable for their magnitude than for any artistic quality in them, the casting of this ball brought Verrocchio more reputation than his sculptures. He received many orders from the Medici, the first being the commission for the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, father and uncle of Lorenzo, in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo. This was completed in 1472. Cavalcaselle points with just discrimination to the ingenious way in which Andrea utilized a window-opening as a niche, and to the feeling for color shown in the arrangement of the colored materials, as well as to the delicacy of the execution of the ornamental work. The Medici then employed him in the decoration of their favorite residence, the Villa Careggi, which Cosimo had built in 1461. He made for them four marble lions' heads and three heads in bronze (of which two were those of Alexander and Darius, which Lorenzo sent to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary), according to Vasari, and the baby in bronze which Cosimo afterward placed on the fountain in the cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio. It was also at the order of the Medici that he did the bronze David now in the Florentine Museum. He further undertook for Lorenzo the restoration of an antique Marsyas, which is lost.

In 1477 Francesca Pitti, wife of Giovanni Tornabuoni[1] (according to Vasari, though Bode questions the individuality of the hus-

[1] Milanesi says: "If here Vasari does not indicate Giovanfrancesco di Filippo Tornabuoni, married in 1470 to Elisabeth, daughter of Andrea Allemanni, he certainly was mistaken, as our friend Dr. L. Passerini points out to us, because neither the epoch nor the circumstances agree with the existence of the two members of the family Tornabuoni by the name of Francesco, of whom one died in 1436, when Verrocchio was still a child, and the other in Rome in 1484, leaving a widow whose name was Marietta Valori. Baron Reumont is of the opinion that this monument was raised by Giovanni Tornabuoni to his wife Francesca Pitti, and this is supported by the

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band), died in Rome in childbed, and Verrocchio was sent for to make her monument, which appears to have been his first important work in marble. The monument has perished, but the reliefs now in the museum of Florence, representing the death of the young mother and the grief of the assistants, show the artist's dramatic power to have been very great. From this on till 1484, the date of the death of Sixtus IV., Verrocchio divided his time between Rome and Florence. He executed some large silver statues of the Apostles for the Sistine Chapel. These have since been stolen and probably melted up, as no trace of them has ever been found. Hans Semper considers a number of reliefs and figures in the cellars of the Vatican to be the work of Verrocchio and his pupils, possibly done at this time, as it is known that he did some then for the Sistine.[1] About 1480 he executed the silver bas-relief of the decollation of St. John for the altar of the Baptistery of Florence. This is the only example of his goldsmith's work remaining, and it is of its kind unrivaled in movement and in delicacy of finish. In 1483 he completed the group in bronze of the "Incredulity of St. Thomas" for the church of Or San Michele, which is considered to be his finest work in this kind. It is full of imaginative feeling; the criticism which Cavalcaselle makes, viz., that the Christ is old and pinched, is hypercritical; and my opinion is that it is rather the expression of the religious conception of the Saviour as "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief," wasted and prematurely old. The years from 1484 to 1488, the last of his life, he spent mostly at work on his great equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice. Vasari tells us that he was twice in Venice for this work, having thrown up the commission at one time, and broken the head and the legs of the horse, because some of the senators insisted that a Venetian sculptor of slight ability, Vellano, should do the Colleoni, while Verrocchio was to do only the horse. The Senate was furious with him, and sentenced him to death by decapitation if he ever reappeared. He sent them word that under the circumstances he should never return, for they could not put his head on again as he

evidence of a letter from the said Giovanni to Lorenzo the Magnificent, written from Rome, September 24, 1477, in which he advises him of the death of his wife in childbed, with which both date and name agree. There does not, however, seem to be any reason for adopting the supposition of Reumont that there was a confusion with the tomb of Gianfrancesco, dead in 1480, as the data in both cases are sufficient to avoid any confusion. The removal of the monument to Florence in the changes which were always going on in Rome is most probable."

[1] These are by the art authorities at Rome believed to be by Donatello. W. J. S.

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could that of the horse. The reply is said to have so pleased the Senate that word was sent to him to come back and he should do as he desired about it, and at the same time they offered to double his pay. During the casting of the statue he caught a cold, from which he died, at the age of fifty-three. By his will he left the completion of the group to his favorite pupil, Lorenzo di Credi, and asked to be buried in Sta. Maria del Orto; but the Senate paid no attention to either wish, as the statue was finished by Leopardi, a Venetian sculptor, whom the ungrateful Senate afterward tried to pass off as the artist, and Verrocchio's bones were afterward carried to Florence, where they were laid in the family vault in S. Ambrogio. On the tomb is the following inscription: *S. Michaelis de Cionis et suorum. Andrea Verocchii Dominici filii Michaelis, qui obiit Venetiis*, 1488.

Verrocchio's record is mainly that of a sculptor, yet he had more to do with the shaping of the art of painting for his immediate successors than any painter of his generation. Besides his school as a sculptor, which was very influential, he was the master in painting of Leonardo, Perugino, and Lorenzo di Credi. A poem by Verini compares him to a fountain from which all the great painters of Florence drank. In feeling he was a sculptor, and he caught from his master, Donatello, the sympathy with the historical ideal which was the splendid gift of that great artist. This runs through all his personifications, and gives them individuality. Like his master, he was a great portraitist. Vasari says that he was the first who used masks from the dead to obtain the likeness he required; but this is doubtful, for masks of the dead were certainly taken before his time, and they could hardly have served for any other purpose. When he drew it was with the aim of understanding the forms he was studying, and in the day when the technique of all the graphic arts was the common education of artists of all branches, the pencil, the modeling-tool, or the graver were used alike to express form, not to represent surfaces, and drawing meant everything in design. When the pupils of Donatello asked him how they should become good sculptors, he replied, "Draw." The thorough understanding of the forms to be represented was the end of study, and when this was attained the representation was equally easy in clay, wax, in simple black and white, or in color; for the color itself was not imitated from nature, but the result of long-elaborated canons, holding to certain relations of the pigments, with a progressive development

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of intensity rather than a modification of system, from Giotto down until the effect of the revelations of the Venetian school began to be felt in the Florentine. Whether in the former or the latter, imitation of the absolute color of nature formed no part of the study of the artist. He drew to obtain the facility necessary to reproduce what forms he sought, and if a Venetian of the school of Bellini, he rendered these in color with attention solely to its orchestral relations; if a Florentine, with the purpose of giving their essential qualities of shape and character. The training of the sculptor was therefore the training of the painter. There is nothing to show that Verrocchio dissected the human body. This was an innovation which was far more likely to be made by a decidedly scientific student like Leonardo, and I believe we may safely refer it to him.

Of Verrocchio's pictures we can find authentic evidence only as to one, the "Baptism of Christ," in the Accademia of Florence, of which Vasari says that it was in part painted by Leonardo, and of which Mr. Cole has engraved a part; but there are several which are, by various critics, doubtfully attributed to him. It is known that many Madonnas were sent out from his *bottega*—workshop, as it was called; for in the good days of art the artist was known purely and simply according to his workmanship, and from the O of Giotto to the bronze ball of Verrocchio the man took rank by the excellence of his handicraft. Where these Madonnas have gone, or the other pictures he is known to have painted, we have no clue. Many of his drawings exist, and they are greatly confounded with those of Leonardo and Lorenzo di Credi. A Madonna at Dresden ascribed to Leonardo is with great positiveness assigned to Verrocchio by Bode, as is an altarpiece at Pistoja, the "Virgin Enthroned with Sts. John and Zeno";[1] one in the Louvre from Sta. Maria Maddalena de Pazzi,[1] and a Nativity in the Accademia;[1] an "Adoration of the Infant by the Madonna" in the National Gallery at London, otherwise attributed to Pollaiuolo; a "Madonna with the Child" in Berlin, and one in Frankfort. But these attributions, which are mostly due to Bode, are strongly impeached, in my opinion, by his very positive reference to Verrocchio of the "Tobias with the Three Archangels" in the Accademia (there attributed to Botticelli). There is absolutely no datum to sustain this attribution, and to lead to its rejection it is quite sufficient to compare the manner of finishing the extremities in this and in other pictures known to be by

[1] Certainly by Credi, all three. C. F. MURRAY.

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Botticelli, with the treatment of these features in the indubitable work of Verrocchio, as the "Baptism of Christ" in the same gallery. In the Baptism the finger-tips, and especially the insertions of the toe- and finger-nails, are done with a delicacy and fidelity never approached by Botticelli, while those in the Tobias are painted in precisely the manner observed in all the pictures of the latter painter. Nor is the color such as to support such an attribution. It is not altogether in the usual vein of Botticelli, and is heavy and feeble in execution; but the nude portions of the picture are quite in his manner, and it is to my mind clear that the Tobias was painted under Botticelli's influence,[1] possibly from his design and under his direct influence so far as the flesh goes, and that the draperies were painted from Botticelli's cartoon by one of his pupils or by some follower later. Again, the landscape details are utterly unlike their treatment in the Baptism:[2] the pebbles of the foreground of the Baptism are drawn on the gesso preparation with all the care and natural variety of form of a study of a modern Preraphaelite, while the foregrounds of Botticelli are purely conventional in details. The manner of painting was that of all painters of the school at this time; *i. e.*, the subject was carefully outlined on the gesso ground and laid in in tempera in all its masses, folds of drapery, drawing of the heads, etc., and on this the finishing was done in oil—not in the manner of Bellini's later work and all late Venetian work, with broad glazing, but with a small brush, carefully modeling it up as if with a point. The positiveness with which Bode assigns this Tobias to Verrocchio induces me, as I have said, to question his judgment in other cases.

The Baptism becomes, therefore, both from the strong individuality of its types and from the excellence of its workmanship, as well as from the high importance of the painter in relation to all subsequent and contemporary art, a picture of almost unique importance. The story which Vasari tells of Leonardo's having done a part of it with such success as to induce Verrocchio to abandon painting, is probably one of Vasari's fables. There is nothing in the picture to support it. The part supposed to have been put in

[1] Mr. C. F. Murray, who in technical knowledge of the work of the early Italian schools is *facile princeps* in our generation, agrees with me as to the Verrocchio attribution, but he discredits the picture being in any part by Botticelli, and I am not disposed to contest his decision; but I think that any one who will compare closely, as I have compared, the painting of the extremities of the Tobias with work known to be of Botticelli, will be puzzled to determine by whom it can be if not by Botticelli. But as to its being by Verrocchio, there is no room for discussion. W. J. S.

[2] Or Botticelli. They show the influence of Pollaiuolo. C. F. MURRAY.

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by Leonardo, the nearer angel of the two, may well be from Leonardo's hand, but there is no such superiority as Vasari attributes to it. Let us consider the entire process of producing the picture, and then see if there is any room for the credulity of the writer, who is as often fabulist as historian. We know that in every case a picture was carefully designed, and the composition completely finished in the cartoon. This was then traced on a gesso ground, the lines of the cartoon being pricked through, and charcoal powder being dusted through the lines of punctures thus made, and by this the lines of the subject were carefully drawn. We have many cartoons which show this to have been the practice, and the tempera preparation of the drapery of the Baptist in this picture shows these lines throughout. The composition was therefore entirely that of Verrocchio; and if the story of Vasari is good, the painting of the Christ, St. John, and the second angel is that of the master, as well as the general effect. The drapery of St. John is in the tempera state, the oil-color not having been added, and the forms are faintly modeled in comparison with the others. The drawing, certainly, and probably the tempera preparation, of the angel of Leonardo were then by Verrocchio, the painting of the head and the drapery alone of this angel by Leonardo. The head of the second angel is by Verrocchio, and the drapery of the other figures. But there is nothing, I repeat, in the painting of the head of the first angel which indicates any such superiority as is implied: from its pose, a *profil perdu*, it is more simple and therefore broader in its mass than the second, which is seen in nearly full-face; but the design, and therefore the general effect in relation to the rest of the picture, must have been those of Verrocchio. The draperies do not any more bear out the claim of superiority for the pupil, for the bit of drapery around the loins of the Christ is by far the most masterly piece of painting, considered as execution and color, in the picture; and even if the color of the angel's head had been beyond the abilities of the master, it was so subordinate a quality at his time and in his school that such a difference as could, under the best hypothesis, have been shown under the circumstances would not have convicted Verrocchio of the discouraging inferiority which Vasari supposes. Moreover, as the picture is still unfinished, why did not Verrocchio, in this supposed generous recognition of his pupil's superiority, charge him with the finishing of it? I believe the whole story to be one of the popular fables growing possibly out of some incident con-

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nected with the abandonment of this single picture in its unfinished state, but exaggerated and transformed by Vasari so as to become substantially a fiction. Vasari, as I have often had occasion to note, is very fond of the marvelous and of stories of precocity; it was the fashion in his time to glorify Leonardo, and he followed it. The story is of great value as the means of identifying the picture; but as testimony to the early superiority of Leonardo to his master, I utterly discredit it. The manner of treating the detail, even in the minor and less important parts of the picture, is very notable. The bit of stony foreground at the left is of a naturalistic verity of which I do not know another instance in the art of the Renaissance. It is clearly taken directly from nature, for the invention of such a collection of pebbles is not only very much more difficult than the invention of some orderly decoration, as every artist knows, but it would be labor entirely unappreciated in the day when this was done, when the greatest and most earnest of painters contemporary with Verrocchio were entirely indifferent to truthfulness in the details of their landscapes; and this seems to be more probably a freak on the part of the painter than an example of his manner of treating landscape generally, for the other parts of the background of the same picture are in the general conventional style of the day, indicating recollection of nature rather than direct working from her in the landscape studies they employed. This is an interesting item in the formation of an estimate of the artistic character of the master of so many great artists; for it is the first evidence we have in the history of Italian art of direct drawing of landscape matter from nature, and it is so in consonance with the general character of this particular picture that I need not apologize for insisting on so trivial a point.

Cavalcaselle, who seems to me the most sympathetic, and therefore the most highly gifted, of all the many commentators, with insight of a true critic in considering the early schools of his native land, very justly attaches great importance to this Baptism. He says:

Verrocchio's is a higher nature, enriched by a more educated and general taste than that of the Pollaiuoli. His "Baptism of Christ," unfinished and injured though it be, offers to us a picture of calm and composure, of reverent and tender worship, which carries with it a special charm. The resigned consciousness of the Saviour receiving the water which St. John pours on his head; the questioning, tender air of the two beautiful angels who wait on the bank of the brook to minister to the Redeemer's wants; the brook itself running in its bed of pebbles round a projection of

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rock crowned with trees from a distance of lake and hills; the palm-tree with the bird flying into it; the mixture of the mysteries of solitude and worship—are all calculated to affect the senses of the beholder.

Descending to a more critical analysis, we find the type of the Saviour not absolutely select, somewhat imperfect in proportion and form, but bony and drawn and modeled with the searching study of anatomical reality. The Baptist is unfinished. He presents to us the stiff action and some of the vulgarity of a model. The curly-headed angel presenting his front face to the spectator is beautiful. His chiseled features, shadowed in light greenish-gray over the bright local tone, are fair to look upon; but he is surpassed in beauty and feeling by his fellow-angel, whose back is toward the beholder, whilst his head, gently bent and looking up to the Saviour, presents the rotary lines of brow, cheek, and mouth which illustrate the application of a law in rendering movement familiar to the great painters of the sixteenth century. So fresh and innocent, so tender and loving, is this angel, that it strikes one as the finest ever produced in the manner of Verrocchio. The soft gaiety and grace in the play of the exquisite features, the pure, silvery outlines and modeling of the parts, of the hair and lashes, the chaste ornaments which deck the collar of the bright green tunic damasked in brown at the sleeves, the edges of the lucid blue mantle, and the dress which is held ready for the Saviour—this all combines to form a total revealing the finish, the study, conspicuous in Leonardo. In type and in the expression of tender feeling the face and form of this figure are equal to those of the Virgin of the Rocks, whilst the draperies by their broken nature, the color by its impasto, recall the same examples to mind. The force of chiaroscuro alone is not so great, but everything confirms the statement of Vasari that Leonardo helped Verrocchio to paint the picture.

But in this general judgment of the eminent Italian critic there is much that seems to me the result of a predetermined admiration due to the tradition given us by Vasari. The objection to the type of the Saviour I have anticipated in treating the relief of Or San Michele, and in regard to it differ *in toto* from Cavalcaselle. It seems to me emphatically select—not the selection of the later painters who had a return to the Greek conception of the ideal, that it must be one of physical beauty, but the conception of the Saviour as bearing the impress of a painful existence and a more painful destiny, a thoughtful rendering of what was probably to the painter the noblest conception of art, the historical ideal, the shadowing forth of Him who was in this scene taking up his burden of the woes of all humanity. Criticism of this kind, both Cavalcaselle's and my own, is always in danger of attributing to the picture the feeling which is awakened in the critic by chains of association that the painter did not recognize; but nevertheless a work of art is always entitled to the credit of the ideas it awakens, and in this respect Verrocchio is in the vein of the early religious art of Italy and Byzantium—the ascetic was the noblest ideal they knew. Nor is

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Cavalcaselle's objection to the Baptist a better founded one, if we consider the work of contemporary painters. Ascetic as well as Christ, the Baptist must be in some measure inferior to the Saviour. Both show the *pose-plastique* in the attitudes, as did all the work of the time; both show the almost painful conscientiousness of study which was more characteristic of Verrocchio than of any painter of his time—the thorough preparation of the cartoon, and extreme painstaking in all the processes of the production of the picture: and these qualities make the "stiff action," and what the critic calls the "vulgarity," but which is in reality the fidelity to his models, in which Verrocchio makes the distinction between the Christ and the Baptist. And this very stiffness is visible in all the early and earnest schools of art down to the English Preraphaelite.

The comparision which the Italian critic draws between the two angels seems to me overdrawn in favor of Leonardo. I do not believe that any one would have suspected that two painters had worked on the picture, if Vasari had not told it. The decorative qualities which are pointed out in the angel assigned to Leonardo are just those which we have seen in all Verrocchio's work, embodying extreme delicacy in finish and design of ornament. The cast of the draperies and the general scheme of light and shade must have been qualities of the cartoon, as well as the pose of the angel, so much praised. Admitting that the talent and attainments of the pupil were such that he could carry out a part of his master's work so ably as to show no noteworthy deficiency in the comparison, I have allowed to Leonardo very high abilities; but it is not admissible to distinguish him for qualities which we have found to be the most distinctive traits of the work of the master. Take Verrocchio as we may, and considering that his sculpture is what we can best judge him by, he takes rank among the greatest of the artists of the Renaissance, and is probably the most largely gifted of the entire range from Giotto to Michelangelo. Vasari was never more at fault than when he said of him that he showed "a certain hardness of manner, revealing patient study rather than natural gifts," for his genius showed itself eminently in this very power of taking pains. He was an admirable goldsmith; a sculptor in marble, wood, and bronze, as well as a worker in terra-cotta; a painter, musician, and mathematician; and no artist of the Renaissance showed a larger possession of the "natural gifts" of which Vasari would deny him the possession.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE detail of the two angels' heads by Verrocchio is taken from his picture of the "Baptism of Christ," in the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence. It measures 5 feet 9¾ inches high by 4 feet 11½ inches wide, and is painted in tempera on wood. Our Lord stands ankle-deep with clasped hands as in prayer, in the River Jordan, while on his left is St. John, who pours water from a shell over his head. Above the head of Christ is the Holy Spirit in the form of the dove, —golden rays proceeding from it. Over this are seen the hands of God in blessing. To the right of Christ, and kneeling upon the shore beneath a palm-tree, are the two angels whose heads form the detail of the engraving. They hold the vestments of Christ. The one in profile is said by Vasari to have been painted by Leonardo da Vinci while yet a youth and pupil of Verrocchio. This figure, being so much superior to the other parts of the picture, caused Andrea to resolve upon abandoning the art of painting, since Leonardo, though still so young, had acquitted himself in the art better than he had done. There does not appear to be, however, at this late day, such an amazing distinction between this head and the one in full-face as to cause Verrocchio so much feeling. But in its freshly finished state and to so true an eye as Verrocchio's (verrocchio means "true eye") there may have appeared such a distinction. But the picture is now much faded, and the restorations it has undergone have no doubt helped to bring the two heads more into harmony with each other.

T. C.

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Chapter XIX

FILIPPINO LIPPI

(Born 1457, died 1505)

The question of the parentage of Filippino Lippi has been referred to in the notice of the life of Fra Filippo, and the justice of Cavalcaselle's strictures on the tradition reported by Vasari fully admitted; but as the romantic interest in the younger painter depends in a certain measure on the story, it is greatly to be desired that the question should be entirely cleared up. No valid ground for the accusation of sacrilege against Fra Filippo existed. He retained his artistic signature, as an indication of his identity probably, and his princely protection up to the time of his death; and what evidence is to be adduced from the later-found documents goes rather to show absolution from monastic vows and marriage of Fra Filippo and Lucretia. The evidence of Filippino's parentage is even less clear, but it may be admitted that he was the child of Fra Filippo and Lucretia, under the circumstances indicated. It rests mainly on the facts that Filippino signed his work "Philippinus de Lippis" or "Philipus de Lipis," and that in the public accounts of the city of Florence he is called "Filippo Filippi" or "Filippo alterius Filippi"; but the practice of painters of that day was to take the names of their masters, for, there being no distinctive family names with the artisan classes, the name of the father was no distinction, while that of the master would always be sufficient for identification. Thus we find that in the register of Paduan painters Mantegna is called "fiuolo de M. (Magister) Francesco Squarcion," fiuolo being the diminutive for son; Pier di Cosimo is so called because he was a pupil of Cosimo Roselli; Marco Zoppo signs himself "Zoppo di Squarcione,"

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Squarcione being his master; and similar instances are numerous. All that can be stated with certainty is that Filippino was born in Prato, where Fra Filippo had relatives and where he went to paint some of his most important frescos, and that the friar took an interest in him; but whether there was a relationship or not, and if a relationship, what it was, is uncertain. We do not even know the date of his birth. If the story of Vasari as to his parentage is true, he would have been born in 1460, and at nine have lost the protection and direction of his father, who, according to the same authority, committed him to the care of Fra Diamante, his assistant in the frescos at Spoleto. But the evidence of his work is that he was thoroughly imbued with the influence of the art of Fra Filippo, and that he must have been under his influence more than could have been possible at that age. Nor is it conceivable that the "Vision of St. Bernard" in the Badia at Florence (the subject engraved by Mr. Cole) should have been painted when he was twenty years old. I admit the intervening influence of Botticelli, who was the pupil of Fra Filippo as far as he was the pupil of any individual master, but who certainly was of so strong an individuality that he would probably have left a much deeper impress on Filippino, had he been his master, than he seems to have done. The connecting-link which unites the three in one line is rather in the type of the head than in the technique. It is most probable that the two were pupils of Fra Filippo, and that Filippino was older by some years than Vasari makes him.[1] Cavalcaselle discredits the mastership of Botticelli; and certainly, while there is in the work of Filippino the strongest evidence of the influence of Fra Filippo in the vein of naturalism opened by the latter, and in which Botticelli, in common with other contemporaries, worked deeply, the color of Filippino is distinctly allied to that of Fra Filippo, and very little like that of Botticelli, save as all the artists of the Florentine school had in common certain canons of art which distinguished their work from that of contemporary schools and especially from the Venetian, and which produce the greatest confusion at times in the attempt to determine the authorship of unsigned pictures of the school. Thus, a certain one of the series of frescos in the Sistine Chapel is attributed at once to Perugino, to Pinturicchio, and to Botticelli; and admitting that the general verdict is in favor of Pinturicchio, as the highest authorities seem to incline, the fact

[1] I agree with this. C. F. MURRAY.

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that the question should be disputed shows that the internal evidence is not so clear as is imagined by the majority of students. One authority in Italian art, Venturi, accepts Botticelli. Cavalcaselle, once so inclined, now hesitates to pronounce; and C. F. Murray puts Botticelli out of the question.

This only proves, however, that the art of individual painters of this school differed so little in its general characteristics that there is no room for that accumulation of superlatives which it is in the fashion to attribute now to one and then to another of its great masters. They were all well trained, and this was the principal question for the public of that day; as when the pope wanted a sample of the art of Giotto and got a satisfactory O, so in the days of the Medici the man who was called to do public work was the man who had thoroughly mastered the handicraft of his art. Thus when Perugino, in association with others, was called to decorate the Palazzo Pubblico in Florence (1482), and declined on account of his engagements in the Sistine Chapel in Rome, Filippino was summoned to supply his part of the work at the same salary and on the same conditions. The Florentines were not munificent in paying their artists, and we have frequent occasion to wonder that the artist should have yielded to the demands of the municipality. Perugino was shrewd enough in such matters, and as there is no evidence that Filippino accepted this commission, it is probable that he was dissatisfied with the compensation and declined it also. The Florentines were too prone to consider the honor of serving the state as a large part of the reward.

Cavalcaselle notes, as one of the pictures which mark the best period of Filippino's art, the altarpiece of the Hall of the Eight now in the Uffizi, which is inscribed 1485. In 1487 Filippino received a commission for the frescos in the Strozzi Chapel in the church of Sta. Maria Novella which he executed only about 1503, having been called to Rome, where he decorated the chapel of Cardinal Caraffa in the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. This work was completed in 1493, after which he returned to Florence and was invited to paint a picture in substitution to Ghirlandaio for the brotherhood of S. Francesco del Palco. A petition of the brotherhood is on record in which they pray that the town council of Prato will give them twenty ducats toward the thirty-five for which they had contracted with Ghirlandaio to have the picture painted. The council granted the petition, and Filippino seems to have received the same

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price as his more celebrated rival was to get. The picture is now in the Munich Gallery, and by this fine specimen of the artist's work we can judge something of the prices the painters of the beginning of the sixteenth century were paid. The price was equivalent to less than one hundred dollars. Filippino was, like most of his contemporary painters, strongly imbued with love for the antique, which is shown in the decorative part of his pictures; and he seems to have been a collector of antiques, as his son Francesco inherited a number which won him the friendship of Cellini. That Filippino was recognized as one of the masters of the craft of painting of his day is evident from the constantly repeated selection of him as appraiser or judge in reference to the work of other painters. He was one of those called to the council on the occasion of the restoration of the ball and cross on the apex of the dome of Sta. Maria del Fiore of Florence, in which all the heads of the arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture were assembled, and to that which was to select the place for Michelangelo's David.

Filippino married in 1497. Dohme says that he died of quinsy in 1504, while Vasari puts his death at 1505, which, if the German author is correct, is another impeachment of Vasari.

I am hardly more disposed to accept Cavalcaselle's estimate of the art of our painter than I was his estimate of that of Ghirlandaio. He condemns the frescos of the Strozzi Chapel as indicating the decay of his art; to me they seem only the throwing off of the formal restraints of his masters and the expression of his own individuality. They are as careful in the study of forms and types as anything he ever did; here and there less careful in execution, but simply showing less attention to the traditions in which he was educated, and for that reason more individual. The "Martyrdom of St. Philip" is an instance of both these tendencies. The head of the old man who is, in a manner most contemptuous of mechanical probabilities, trying to pry the cross into the hole dug for it, that of the Fra-Filippesque boy at the left, and that of the man with the ladder at the right, are in the old vein; and the general effect is masterly. The great defect of the whole is lack of dramatic feeling; one feels that things could not have happened so.[1] Filippino might have done like Ghirlandaio and maintained his work in a certain

[1] Woermann, who writes the notice in Dohme, considers imagination one of Filippino's distinctions, which only shows that the conception of the nature of imagination in the writer is, as in most German critics, one of mechanical rather than of vital qualities. W. J. S.

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majesty by a more rigid adherence to academical canons; and he might have made his work as conventionally formal and dignified as Ghirlandaio's and as uninterestingly masterly. But he was tired of the rules which helped him while they kept him in; he gambols lamely but more content. He was not a great master, but one of those who are made by the art of others more than they make for others. While he conforms to his masters he seems himself a master, and technically he always *is* one.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE commission for this picture—the "Vision of St. Bernard of Clairvaux"—was given to Filippino Lippi in 1480, when he was but twenty-three years old, and it is so fine that many do not hesitate to reckon it his masterpiece. It is found in the church of the Badia, Florence, over the altar of the chapel to the left of the entrance of the church as you enter. It is painted in tempera on wood, and measures 6 feet 7 inches wide by 7 feet 1 inch high. It is related of St. Bernard that among other literary labors he wrote much on the merits of the Blessed Virgin, and that one day while so engaged she appeared to him, comforting and strengthening him.

The saint is seen, clad in the creamy-white habit of the order of the Cistercians, which he founded, seated at his rustic bench in the open air. The time is evening, but the clouds are not lighted up by the setting sun, for it will be seen that the sky is drawn asunder showing the glory of the light of heaven, from whence the Virgin has swept down with her train of seraphs. What a benign being of well nigh unearthly beauty and purity! Her mantle, trimmed with gold, is of a soft blue falling over an underrobe of rich crimson. The angel in the foreground by her side is clad in a yellow robe of a soft, rich tone. The one on the other side is in blue. How sweet and guileless are these heads! The saint is overcome with ecstasy at the ineffable beauty of the apparition. How rapt is his expression and whole bearing! It is one of the notable things of Italian art. Behind the saint and in the shadow of the rocks are two chained demons (the chained demons form one of the attributes of the saint); one of them, in the shape of an owl, is a stroke of humor, relieving the seriousness of the scene. The portrait of the donor, which, according to Vasari, "wants nothing but the power of speech to be alive," is seen in the right-hand corner, in adoration.

Above, and separated by the rocks, another scene in the life of the saint is depicted. The saint is in prayer, and is distinguished from his companion by the glory shooting in rays from his head, and he prays less vociferously than his fellow. The efficacy of his prayers is seen in the healing of the cripple by the other monk, who presses his thumb into the palm of the former, admonishing him, apparently, to have faith. Two monks in the distance are seen bearing another cripple between them down the hill to the monastery to be healed. The whole is painted in the best manner of the cinque-cento, displaying the most exquisite refinement in the treatment of detail,—the rocks, trees, and shrubs, the books and manuscripts with their lettering, the stump of the tree upon

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which the desk is improvised with the vine growing around it, the wine-flask beneath, the same as is used at the present day in Florence, the grass and flowers of the foreground with the lily behind the donor's head, and the lizard upon the stone by the lower margin of the picture, etc.,—but more than all in the beauty and finish of the hands and heads. It is the most charming thing imaginable to contemplate, and a close inspection will reveal the loving care with which it is done.

T. C.

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Chapter XX

BOTTICELLI (ALESSANDRO FILIPEPI)

(Born 1446–47, died 1510–15)

In the entire range of the Italian Renaissance there is no artist who tries the standards of criticism so severely or evokes such contrary opinions of his merits as Botticelli. His reputation among his contemporaries was very high, and on the death of Filippo Lippi, Vasari considered him the best painter in Florence; but in those later times when the merely technical excellences of the art of painting, and especially the quality of surface fidelity, had assumed an exaggerated importance, he went out of favor, to regain it fully in the very modern epoch of appreciation of the essential qualities of the early schools of Italy; so that to-day there is among the sincere lovers of Italian art no one of the cinque-centists who is held in such earnest admiration as he.

Sir F. W. Burton says of him (National Gallery Catalogue): "Sandro was a man of singularly inventive genius, and endowed with an ardent and highly poetic temperament, which often betrayed him into an excess of fantasy. But the sense of life which glows through all his productions extenuates the fault of over-vehement action in his figures. If he seldom attained the dignity of his master in pose, and generally fell short of him in majesty and simplicity of drapery, as well as in refinement of color, he nevertheless reached a high degree of excellence in both these last qualities. Where Fra Filippo was all repose, Sandro was all movement. His range of subjects was immense, according to the calls of his patrons and the untamable energy of his own nature. It extended from great scriptural compositions, as in his frescos in the Sistine Chapel, and large altarpieces, treated with great power, through the most

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touching scenes in the life of the Virgin, to events in classic history, including allegorical and mythological subjects. All these he treated in a form which was the natural outcome of the Renaissance, but with a *verve*, naïveté, and pathos peculiar to himself." That he should be tolerated by a taste that regarded Guido Reni as the type of grace and the Caracci as the revivers of art was not to be expected, or even that he should hold his own when the splendor of the Venetian school had eclipsed that of all contemporary painting so far that Raphael and Michelangelo would have borrowed some of its glory, for he had not the drawing of the Urbinate, the imagination of the painter of the "Last Judgment," or the least of the attractions of the school of John Bellini. What Sir F. W. Burton says of his color as being less refined than that of Fra Filippo is by implication still too favorable. He has none of the instincts of the colorist; his art is purely intellectual; and if his color ever has any meaning beyond the conventional utility of lending itself to the verisimilitude of the scene, it is mystic, as in the so-called "Spring,"[1] which is on the whole the most interesting picture of his that we have. With the thorough assimilation he attained of the other qualities of his master, if he had felt the poetry of color as his master did, he must have far surpassed him; but he shows no sign of recognizing the motive which Fra Filippo introduced into art. And with the serious study of true art which seems to have come to compensate us for the impotence of production of it in our own day, there has come an appreciation of Botticelli probably better than that of his own time. We are on the whole better able to comprehend the eclectic and intellectual tendencies of the painter than even the most appreciative of his contemporaries, because we are free from the prejudices of schools and the bias of the ecclesiastical requirements which have always been a great hindrance to the free development of pure art, demanding as they did consecrated forms and conventional dispositions which were conservative and tranquilizing to the mind of the worshiper rather than permitting imaginative or artistic departure from the orthodox type. To the Church a picture was only a reminder of the devotion due, and the means of fixing the attention of the worshiper on the subject of his adoration—any contemplation of the refinements of art and the individuality of the artist would cause

[1] The figure to the right, the "Wind," is painted in a shadowy vaporous green, to express its unsubstantiality probably. W. J. S.

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distractions that were not favorable to religious concentration. Art began to flourish only as a certain kind of intellectual freedom—what in fact we must recognize as reform—made its way in the Christian world. In the most conservative of all ecclesiastical organizations, the Orthodox or Eastern Church, the emancipation of art has not yet taken place; the Byzantine types and formulas are still adhered to, as they were in the Western Church in the time of Cimabue, as sacred enunciations of immutable truth.

This will enable us to understand the character of Botticelli and the relation of his art to that of his contemporaries more fully than the abstract criticism of it. He was not the first innovator, it is true, but he was the first who deliberately and fully accepted art as the instrument of general culture, and as much at the service of the world as of the Church. He was as ready to paint a Venus as a Madonna, to illustrate Boccaccio as the New Testament. When he painted a Holy Family he paid small respect to the conventional disposition of his characters, and he shows the most charming perception of the felicities of maternal tenderness and infantile moods in the inventions of his Madonnas and Holy Families. His profane subjects are equally felicitous in invention and in perception of human nature, and his story-telling is perhaps the most complete of his epoch. It is easy to find in his work a head drawn out of symmetry, but it is not easy to find a figure which does not tell its story perfectly.

His father, Mariano Filipepi, was a well-to-do Florentine citizen[1] who desired to give his son a good education, but the boy seemed so slow at books that he was sent as apprentice to a goldsmith, Botticelli,[2] from whom he got his art name. It is clear that he was not so dull as might be suspected from his reluctance to take the form of education proposed for him, but he was, as we can see by his pictures, of an intense individuality, and must have been refractory to any form of education that did not follow his own groove. That he was an extensive reader is clear from the range

[1] Crowe says that he was a tanner.

[2] Crowe ("Gazette des Beaux Arts") denies this, saying that documents found prove that there was no such goldsmith in Florence. But documents cannot prove this. They may fail to give proof of the existence of a man, but their absence is purely negative evidence; the proper document may have been lost, or it may never have existed. In the time of Botticelli the records of the gilds were not so authoritative or so rigorously kept, if we may judge from what is after all only negative evidence itself, as in the earlier centuries when the arts had their secrets profoundly guarded. I am not overcredulous of Vasari's statements, but in this case the tradition is not contradicted, and the internal evidence is in accord with him.

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of his subjects, and that his critical acumen was subtle is equally clear from his interpretation of them. In Master Botticelli's workshop he probably made the acquaintance of the leading painters of his day in Florence, and the art of the goldsmith was then so intimately related to all the other arts in the main elements of design and invention that the education of the workman differed but little in its beginnings from that of the painter; nor was he the first who from the former found his way to the latter easy. The Pollaiuoli brothers, and their more famous contemporary Verrocchio, were probably often in his master's shop, and the gilds of painters and other art workers were still to a certain extent universities for the specialties in which they were interested. Our modern idea of education as the placing of a broad platform of cognizances on which any profession may be built or any specialty founded had no place in the mind of that day. All education was more or less specialized from the beginning; and the boy who was intended to be an artist was sent to the *bottega* of some master when he was eight or ten years old. If he was stupid he became an assistant and followed the orders of a master in the kind of work for which he was capacitated; if he had any individuality he became ultimately an independent painter, one of the school; and often his work passes for that of the head of it.

Few of Botticelli's works being dated, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine their sequence. He had, as we can judge from Vasari, already a reputation when his master died, and he was then but twenty-three or twenty-four years old. His first independent commission, so far as we know, was the "Fortitude," one of a series of allegorical pictures for the Mercatanzia, or tribunal of commerce; the Pollaiuoli executing the others of the series. The "Fortitude" is in the Uffizi. We learn that in 1469 he had already executed several Madonnas. Art had become fashionable in Florence as the decoration of the residences of the wealthy nobles and merchants, and the Medici were Sandro's patrons. The classical and literary taste of the artist must have appealed especially to these luxurious citizens of the wealthiest city of Italy; and if we may judge from the revolt of Savonarola against its corruption, art of a purely religious character was not likely to drive out the more entertaining form of which Botticelli was the great master. In 1478 he was commissioned by the Medici to paint the Pazzi, after the revolt and defeat of the latter, on the wall

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of the council hall. This work has perished. In 1480 he painted to the order of the Vespucci family the fresco of St. Augustine on the wall of the church of the Ognissanti, and in 1481 he was called to Rome to assist in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. Vasari says he was made overseer of the work, which must be taken as proof of his great general capacity at least, for he was not the oldest of the painters engaged on this important task. Signorelli, Perugino, Cosimo Rosselli, and Ghirlandaio were his co-workers, and it is probable that his supervision was mainly in the distribution of the spaces for the frescos. On each of the long walls of the chapel are six pictures — those to the right representing scenes from the life of Moses, and those to the left others from the life of Christ. Above these and between the windows are a series of twenty-eight popes, which, with the second and fifth scenes from the Old Testament, and the second from the New, are by Botticelli. The opposing scenes are Moses in the desert and Christ in the wilderness. Moses is represented in seven different scenes according to the then accepted and universally followed system of making the picture a history in itself. He is shown as killing the Egyptian, fleeing, protecting Jethro's daughters, watering their flocks for them, taking off his shoes on the holy ground, prostrate before the fiery bush, and finally at the head of the Israelites going forth from Egypt. The opposing picture shows in similar divisions the story of the Temptation. It is evident that in work of this kind the elements of composition and general arrangements of the story-telling must give way to the legibility of the entire work, and we can well imagine that Botticelli preferred his easel pictures and his Florentine commissions; and we do not know that much of such work was done by him. In 1482 he was called to decorate a hall of the town hall of Florence with Ghirlandaio; but it is not probable that he left the work in Rome, where he finished his commission only in 1484, and nothing is now known of his having done so. In 1491 he was commissioned to do the mosaics in the chapel of St. Zenobius in the Duomo of Florence; but they have perished, and there is nothing to prove that he executed the commission. In this branch of art, then, we have only the frescos in the Sistine Chapel, which to my feeling are less interesting than the minor works in which Botticelli's individuality had fuller play and his marvelous fancy had more liberty. Of these the "Spring" is the most important. It is one of those allegories which fascinate by the

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insolvable puzzle they offer to the student. A representation of springtime it is not; but it is not so easy to suggest a probable interpretation. One side of the picture seems to have given the name to the whole. It is certain that it has some meaning in allusion to the seasons, or nature, but I can conceive no interpretation which will explain everything in the picture. The action proceeds from the right (of the spectator), where a female figure robed in characteristic gauzy drapery, revealing the whole form, seems to be fleeing from the embraces of a male figure floating on the air and evidently personating a wind, for he blows on the object of his pursuit while he grasps her under the arms. She turns to look back on her pursuer and presents her face to us in three-fourths view, showing that a stream of flowers is coming from her mouth, and we distinguish various species. Before her advances a fantastically dressed female who is crowned with flowers, has her robes embroidered with them, wears a girdle of roses, has her lap full of them, and is in the act of scattering them before her; while the turf under her feet is dotted with the common flowers of the Tuscan fields.[1] The head of this figure, shown in the engraving by Mr. Cole, is one of the strongest and most masterly in drawing of the painter's work, and evidently had some significance in the allegory. In the center, elevated above the other characters and a little distance beyond, so as to form the key of the composition, leaving the other figures in two groups, one on either hand, is a fully draped woman in the costume of the epoch, and evidently a portrait, in the attitude of listening or admiring, as if the other characters were a part of a pageant displayed before her. To the left of her are three dancing women, a group which Mr. Cole has made one of his most successful engravings;[2] it is the group commonly called the "Three Graces." Above the central figure hovers Cupid about to shoot an arrow, with a head of flame, at the dancing figures. At the extreme left (of the

[1] The non-occurrence of the anemone, now one of the most splendid attractions of the flora of Tuscany, in this collection of flowers, which is painted with almost scientific exactitude, is considered as a proof of the late arrival of that flower from the East, and that it did not exist there in the time when this picture was painted. It is certain that if it had been known in the fields of Florence its conspicuousness of form and color would have made it impossible to leave it out of this gorgeous *hortus siccus*.

[2] When Mr. Cole sent me the proof of this block I took it at once to Hébert, the veteran director of the French Academy at Rome. His comments on it were most flattering for the engraver, and he sent for the young engravers of the school to show them what work the Americans were doing in wood-engraving. Being himself an ardent admirer of Botticelli, and having in his early studies copied this picture, he was in a position to pronounce with authority on its fidelity, as by his training to judge of its quality as style. W. J. S.

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spectator) is Mercury holding aloft his wand, about which gathers a cloud. The background is a thicket of trees of various kinds, of which some are loaded with fruit. The composition is almost symmetrically pyramidal without being formal, the central figure rising above the others in defiance of the perspective of which Botticelli was so fond, and above her the Cupid forming the apex.

The interpretation of the allegory must be left to the ingenuity of the student; I can find none which will suffice. The Spring (if one of the figures is intended to personate that season) must be the gauzily draped female at the right escaping from the wind (? of winter), and the figure next her, covered with flowers, can only be early Summer or Flora, for the roses she is charged with are not spring flowers. The central figure has no attribute which justifies the calling her Venus or Juno, as some have done, and the type of figure is not that which the painter has chosen for the former goddess; the three figures are to be considered as the Graces only because they are three, though they might as properly be considered the type of festivity, which has more to do with the autumn than with the spring; and, finally, what has Mercury to do with the spring rather than with any other season? The trees loaded with fruit are not a possible attribute of the springtime. I believe it is rather a record of a pageant made for some one of the circle or belongings of the Medici, for whom the picture was painted, and that this person is represented by the central figure, with allusions of an allegorical nature representing the virtues and beneficences attributed to her or to the family. Mercury indicates commercial prosperity; Cupid, her fascination; the Graces, her personal charms; the spring group, the awakening life and Renaissance of the régime; and the orchard, the prosperity of the realm.

The discovery, a few years ago, of some frescos by Botticelli in the villa Lemmi near Florence, through the cleaning off the whitewash with which the intelligent proprietors of some time past had preserved them, was a great good fortune for his admirers. The frescos had been mostly destroyed; but the fragments that remained were better preserved, probably, than if they had been visible all their time of existence. The villa had belonged to the Tornabuoni family from 1469 to 1541, and Lucrezia Tornabuoni married Piero de' Medici, son of Cosimo, and became the mother of Lorenzo. In 1486 Lorenzo Tornabuoni, son of Giovanni, through the mediation of Lorenzo married Giovanna, daughter of Maso de' Licca dei Albizzi.

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These frescos were painted (V. Ch. Ephrussi, "Gazette des Beaux Arts") to commemorate this wedding, as appears from the portraits and arms contained in them. One represents three ladies led by a fourth to be presented to a taller one, who holds a handkerchief to receive some flowers which one of the visitors is presenting. To the right a child is holding a coin or shield which displays the Albizzi arms, and the tall lady is Giovanna in the very dress, head-dress, and necklace in which Niccolo Fiorentino has represented her on a medal, with the Three Graces on the reverse. (Have we not here a clue to the personality in the "Spring"?) The second of the frescos represents the bridegroom Lorenzo Tornabuoni led by a female figure to be presented to the seven arts. He also is recognizable, as in the case of Giovanna, by the medal of Niccolo Fiorentino and the portrait by Ghirlandaio in Sta. Maria Novella. On the reverse of the Lorenzo medal is a Mercury, as on that of Giovanna were the Three Graces. These details seem to me to strengthen the hypothesis that the "Spring" picture is a commemorative one, and dedicated to Giovanna in great probability after her marriage, but if not to her then to some other woman of the connection on a similar occasion. When the portraits which Botticelli painted are made, as they ought to be, the subject of special study and collection, we shall then be able to explain this and some of the social problems of his day.

For among the innovations due to him is that of developing portraiture as a distinct branch of painting. From the time of Fra Filippo, as we have seen, the employment of personal types in place of the orthodox had obtained; but it was only in obedience to the demands of the Church, as a general thing, that the painter worked. The usual consequences of wealth and ostentation followed; and the pleasure of seeing one's self in a holy picture invited the perhaps still greater one of seeing the same semblance on one's own walls; and Botticelli, with his contempt of all precedent, was ready to introduce the practice of making portraits for purely secular purposes. The favorite type in his own work has a curious portrait resemblance to that of Fra Filippo, as if all the early studies had been made from the master's model.

In the Sistine fresco of the "Temptation" there is a curious indication of the independence of the painter's way of looking at ecclesiastical themes. The nominal subject of the composition is swamped by the accessory inventions of the painter. In the center—not on

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the summit of the mountain, but on the tower of a church—are the tempter and Christ, the former pointing out the expanse below. At the extreme left, on an eminence representing the mountain, the two are engaged in discussion; and at the right, on another similar height, the tempter is being repelled and flies, while the angels bring in wine and bread for the Saviour. In the first two scenes the tempter is represented as a friar with the hood on his head and a rosary in his hand, and in the last he flies away with his robes being torn off, his eagle's feet showing, and with all his monstrous physical attributes; but all is in an extreme distance, while the foreground is filled with a representation of the daily sacrifice in front of the temple to which a crowd of people come, some bringing offerings and others looking on, none of whom have anything to do with the Temptation or the legend. The high priest has a miter, which seems to be a suggestion of the tri-regno of the popes. The tri-regno is clear in the subject of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, where the high priest is incensing the altar, and Moses confounds the arrogant three, all being admirably grouped around the altar in the center, while at the right the three menace Moses, and at the left Moses curses them, and the ground opens to receive them. In the background is a Roman triumphal arch in ruin, and at the left are extensive ruins of Roman buildings. In the place of the Imperial inscription on the main entablature of the arch is the following inscription, "NEMO SIBI ASSUMMAT HONOREM NISI VOCÁTUS ADEOV TANQUAM ARON." The OV of the last word but two is almost illegible and may be other, and the V may be only an accident of the decay of the fresco.

Of Botticelli's notable work is the illustrated Dante now in the Museum of Berlin. He was a devoted student of the poet, which alone is evidence sufficient that he was a great reader, and he had acquired a smattering of Greek, besides the knowledge of Latin necessary to all painters of Scripture subjects, as no version in the vernacular existed.[1] That he was not only a wide reader but an earnest thinker we have more evidence than that of his art. When Savonarola inflamed Florence with his doctrines of reform Botticelli became one of his disciples, and contributed to the iconoclast's bonfires many of his profane subjects, and naturally ceased painting similar pictures. The story that he entirely abandoned painting and was reduced to great misery and want is, however, one of the

[1] About this time a translation must have been published. C. F. MURRAY.

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exaggerations of Vasari, and there is abundant evidence of its falsity. He was, it is true, one of the disciples of the reformer, and adhered to his doctrines and morality till his death; but he appears to the last as the counselor of the Medici in the public works, in conjunction with Ghirlandaio; and as he had a house and vineyard of his own outside the gates of San Frediano and had nephews with whom he lived in Florence, it is most improbable that he was in such poverty as Vasari suggests. Moreover we have a picture by him, dated 1500, in which he shows his fidelity to the doctrines of his master in the faith. It is in the National Gallery of London—a Nativity, known from its long-time possessor, who was likewise its owner at the time when its importance was recognized, as "Fuller Maitland's picture." It is thus described by Sir F. W. Burton in the Catalogue:

Beneath a thatched penthouse fronting an opening in some white rocks, with a background of distant trees, the Virgin Mother kneels in prayer over the Child, who, reclining against a pack-saddle, looks up toward her, making infantile gestures. St. Joseph is crouched near, as if in sleep. Behind are an ox and an ass feeding from a wicker crib; on the left the three Magi; on the right three shepherds kneel in adoration, attended by angels. Three angels kneel on the thatch of the shed, reading from a book held by the central one. In the rocky foreground three long-robed young men, crowned with myrtle, and three angels, embrace in joy, while demons seek to hide themselves in the crevices of the rocks. High above, the heavens open in a golden glory, and a choir of twelve angels, hand in hand, wheel round in exultant dance, singing, and bearing olive branches and banderoles, with crowns dependent from them. The subject is conceived in a manner highly mystical and symbolical, expressive of the effects of the Advent upon the good and the evil. The color of the robes and the wings of the angels, alternately red, green, and white, are symbolical. Above the picture, on a gray ground, is the following inscription in Greek characters.

This is thus translated by Professor Colvin:

This picture was painted end of 1500, during the troubles of Italy, by me, Alexander, half the time after the time in which was being accomplished the eleventh chapter of St. John the Evangelist and the second travail of the Apocalypse, and when Satan was loosed on earth for three and a half years. In the end the demon will be chained and trampled under foot as in this picture.

Of course this refers to the persecution and martyrdom of Savonarola in 1497–98, and the three persons the angels are welcoming are Savonarola, Domenico Buonvicini of Pescia, and Silvestro Maruffi, whose terrestrial mission is designated by little streamers bearing the inscription, "Hominibus bonæ voluntatis." Besides

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this evidence we know that Botticelli received commissions for Madonna pictures to the end of his life, and though they may have been only *bottega* works, executed by his pupils, they would have sufficed to keep him from want. We hear of many pictures painted after 1500. Vasari says that he was crippled and had to walk on crutches in the latter part of his life. This may be a reason why he should have painted little himself, but it is no evidence that he suffered want, and the positive evidence to the contrary is sufficient. His birth is differently stated as in 1446 and 1447, and his death as in 1510 and 1515. He is buried in the tomb of his family at Florence in the church of the Ognissanti.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

LA PRIMAVERA, by Botticelli, or rather the "Allegory of the Seasons," is one of the renowned treasures of the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence. It measures 6 feet 9 inches high by 11½ feet long; the figures are life-size, painted on wood in tempera upon a gesso ground. It is a fine example of the precision of finish by the Preraphaelesque period. Many of the flowers and much of the detail in general are actually in low relief, and beautifully modeled. Its color has greatly faded and darkened by time, and it has also been subjected to much repainting, but enough is left of it to suggest something of its former loveliness. As a composition it is classic in its perfection; nothing could be more graceful and agreeable; everything about it is worthy of careful consideration. As an allegory I should interpret it as follows: To the right is Boreas sweeping down half naked—his lower half thinly clad in a transparent garment. This is Winter or the North Wind,—notice that the trees bend at his approach. He is painted in a cold greenish monotone, and as such is in marked contrast to all the other figures. With cheeks distended he is blowing upon and endeavoring to grasp a nymph who is fleeing from his breath and touch. This nymph is representative of Early Spring. She is young and shy, and is draped more than Winter, whose grasp upon her, it will be seen, is but feeble. From her mouth, in contradistinction to that of Winter, proceeds a budding branch, as significant of the opening of the earth to produce new fruits, and up her skirts climbs budding greenery. She is an attendant of the Goddess Flora, who comes next. This is a charming and beautiful figure, literally covered with flowers—"Proud-pied April dress'd in all his (her) trim."[1] Her dress is of a creamy, warm tone. From her lap she scatters flowers; I selected this head for engraving as being so mysteriously subtle in expression. She is intoxicated as it were with the sweetness of the odors she breathes—"April perfumes." There is also something of a wild hilarity in the face; the flower-inwoven tresses add greatly to its singularity. The mouth is partly open, showing the teeth, as one would when breathing the odors of flowers. Next comes Venus, the perfection of the seasons. Beauty reigns, Summer

[1] The month of April in Italy corresponds to that of May in the Middle and Eastern States.

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is clad in regal splendor. The underrobe, which falls down from her shoulders, is of a rich red, warm and golden in the high lights. The mantle falling from the arm and below the middle is of a warm peacock-blue in the shadows, and of an ashy paleness in the high lights. Her feet are sandaled, and it will be noticed as significant that she is pregnant. Above her flies her offspring Cupid, shooting a flaming dart at one of the Three Graces who come next. These in mythology are the attendants of Venus. They are clad in transparent draperies,—the idea being that kindnesses, as personified by the Graces, should be done with sincerity and candor and without disguise. They are dancing here as representing the round of the seasons. The lines from Walt Whitman's song of the "Rolling Earth" are especially applicable here:

Of the interminable sisters,
Of the ceaseless cotillion of sisters,
Of the centripetal and centrifugal sisters, the elder and younger sisters,
The beautiful sister we know dances on with the rest,
With her ample back toward every beholder.

This one with her back toward us is gazing longingly at the figure of Mercury who follows next. He is Autumn, and is partly clad in a drapery of a wine color. His feet are winged, and he carries the stolen sword of Mars slung from the girdle which he robbed of Venus, which girdle possessed the power of exciting irresistible affection toward the wearer of it, for which reason we see one of the Three Graces gazing so intently upon him, while Cupid from above aims his golden flaming dart directly at her heart. Mercury has his wand, the caduceus, in a cloud that is just floating in at the upper corner (not striking down fruit, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle have it), prophetic of rains and the termination of the joys that follow in the train of Spring.

The background to the figures is an orange grove.

T. C.

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Chapter XXI

LUCA SIGNORELLI (LUCA D'EGIDIO DI MAESTRO VENTURA DE' SIGNORELLI)

(Born 1441, died 1523)

With all the undeniable power of Signorelli and his boldness of treatment, in spite of his daring invention and defiance of precedent, qualities which place him in the roll of the greatest of the Renaissance painters, I do not feel disposed to accord him that position which most writers on the epoch assign him as among the very first, because he lacks the tenderness which is in my opinion inseparable from the consummate artist's greatness, and which we find in Michelangelo's religious sculpture, in Raphael everywhere, in Bellini and in Mantegna, in Verrocchio and in Botticelli. Accomplished and masterly he is, but with a remote and severe power which was one of the traits of Michelangelo, but which is generally in him veiled by a spiritual pathos which I cannot recognize in Signorelli. In his education he was of an artistic family; and his uncle, Lazzaro Vasari, great-grandfather of Giorgio Vasari, began his instruction in drawing in his childhood, and at a still early age put him under the teaching of Piero della Francesca (Pietro degli Franceschi), who is supposed to have taken him to Rome with him. There are some evidences also that he came under the influence of Pollaiuolo (Antonio), Visscher considering as conclusive the proofs contained in certain works which he mentions. The same critic also says that Verrocchio evidently influenced Signorelli's style and treatment of form, as is indicated by his hardness and angularity in drawing, which reminds one of half-finished wood-carving and possibly depends on a youthful practice in wood-carving which he may have got with Verroc-

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chio, who was a wood-carver. Visscher also credits a certain influence on his style to Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and particularly Perugino, while he gives also a share to Da Vinci, who was the pupil of Piero della Francesca in 1455, and possibly when Signorelli was with him. I am disposed to distrust so much subtlety of attribution, and believe that in this respect German criticism often pushes conclusions beyond human possibilities, and refines for refinement's sake where the degrees are in the eye and not in the object. Burton (National Gallery Catalogue) says that "to him is due the inauguration of the study of the human form for its own sake," but he also says of his work, "in which force and tenderness are equally conspicuous," a judgment from which I must in all humility distinctly but absolutely differ. His power is shown by the rapidity with which his principal work known to us was completed. This is the series of frescos at Orvieto, which was executed in three years and three months from the time of signing the contract. Lazzaro died in 1452, when Luca was eleven years old. Luca had been drawing at least a year, and from that time until 1472 he was under the instruction or influence of Piero della Francesca, and of the Pollaiuoli. Vasari had a personal recollection of Luca from having seen him when he, Vasari, was eight years old, a reminiscence which shows in a very interesting light the briefness of the time in which the great classic Renaissance movement came up and died. The true head of the classic phase of the Renaissance was Masaccio, born in 1401; and it died with Michelangelo in 1564, Luca Signorelli being forty years later than Masaccio, while Vasari, who had known Signorelli, saw the end of the movement. In fact, if Masaccio had lived as long as did Michelangelo, he might have seen the latter at work. We are treating as in a sort of succession men who worked for many years together. The great work of Signorelli was done when Michelangelo was twenty-seven; and the greatest group of artists the world ever saw at one time—Bellini, Mantegna, Verrocchio, Signorelli, Botticelli, Perugino, and Ghirlandaio—were born within a space of twenty-one years and were substantially at their prime together.

Vasari tells us that Luca's first independent work was executed in 1472,—the decoration of the chapel of Sta. Barbara in the church of S. Lorenzo at Arezzo,—and speaks of his other works in that city as of the same date. He is next heard of at Città di Castello, where he painted a gigantic Madonna in the council hall in place of

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the portraits of the rebels which had been there before. This is no longer in existence. Vasari says that after working in Siena at S. Agostino he came to Florence to study the work of the other masters, and while there he painted for Lorenzo de' Medici; and as the altarpiece of S. Agostino was executed in 1498, six years after Lorenzo's death, he must have been in Florence a considerable time prior to the painting of it. Vasari says: "He painted for Lorenzo some undraped gods which earned him great praise,[1] a picture of Our Lady with two prophets in chiaroscuro [monochrome] which is now in the villa of Duke Cosimo at Castello. Both these pictures he gave to Lorenzo, who in generosity and courtesy could be excelled by none. He painted also a beautiful tomb of the Virgin" [Assumption].

Visscher considers the finest of his early works[2] to be that in Santa Casa at Loreto, which the critic considers to show the early Florentine influence strongly.

In 1482–83 he was probably in Rome at work on the frescos of the Sistine Chapel, for in 1484 he returned to Cortona, and in the following year agreed to paint for Spoleto a "Santa Conversazione" and a "Martyrdom of St. Agnes," both of which are lost. In 1488 he painted a banner for the church of Città di Castello, for which he received the freedom of the city, and in 1489 and 1490 he was chosen councilor and (for the second time) prior of Cortona; but being engaged on work at Volterra he was unable to accept the latter honor. In Volterra he painted the "Circumcision" in the church of S. Francisco and an altarpiece in the Duomo, and the next year returned to Cortona and took office as councilor. In 1493 he painted two pictures for Città di Castello, for which he received a vineyard worth sixty florins; in 1494 a standard for Urbino, the pictures for both sides of which are preserved in S. Spirito of that town; in 1495 he was again in office, in 1496 painting in Città di Castello, and in 1497 and 1498 we find him in office again in his native Cortona. The eight frescos in Monte Oliveto near Siena were painted in 1497. He was in Siena in 1498, 1506, and 1509, and as Pinturicchio was there in those years they probably worked together, and it must be then that Signorelli did the "Calumny" from the account of the picture by Apelles, the "Bacchanalia," the "Binding and Triumph of Love," the "Coriolanus" (in the collection of the late

[1] Possibly the "School of Pan" at Berlin? C. F. MURRAY.
[2] They are very fine. C. F. MURRAY.

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F. Leyland). A sketch for a group of background figures is in the British Museum, the "Flight of Æneas," and a "Liberation of Prisoners."

The Duomo of Orvieto, which had been up to this time from its foundation one of the chief votive offerings of the Catholic world, having been founded to commemorate the miracle of the Corpus Domini, and had united the work of the Pisani, of Arnolfo di Lapo, and of all the most eminent painters and sculptors from the date of its completion in 1290, could not fail to call in the pencil of Signorelli; and as Fra Angelico had refused to complete his commission to decorate the new chapel, it was decided in 1499 to invite Luca to finish the work which Angelico had begun fifty years before, and he was called on for estimates. Luca offered to do for 200 ducats the work which Fra Angelico had abandoned, but was beaten down to 180. For this sum he undertook to do the vault of the chapel, half of which, it would seem, Fra Angelico had designed and two divisions of which he had painted; and he was to receive in addition a lodging with a double bed, and to provide himself all the materials except the scaffoldings, the lime, and the sand, binding himself to do work as good as, or better than, that of Fra Angelico. He was to begin working on the 25th of May, and accomplish as much as was possible during the summer. He was bound to paint the figures in the vault with his own hand, and especially the faces and the upper parts of the body, nothing to be painted without his presence or without the will and permission of the chamberlain,[1] and all the colors were to be prepared by him and to be good, perfect, and beautiful. In the event of contravention, he was to submit to a penalty of double the price agreed on, and he was required to make a deposit of twenty-five ducats with the chamberlain in proof of his good faith. The council had seen enough of the uncertainty of art in Fra Angelico to make it unwilling to risk another such failure. But the frank promise and engagement to do as good or better work than did the Blessed Friar was evidence at least of Luca's confidence in his own powers. The contract was signed on the 5th of April, 1499, and on the 25th of November the council was informed that the painter had finished the four divisions designed by Fra Angelico, and Luca now asked permission to carry out the remaining four on his own designs. This permission was granted. In January he asked for an increase of pay, alleging that he was grow-

[1] Documents in the archives of Orvieto literally translated.

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ing poorer rather than richer from his work, which may have well been the case if his gold and ultramarine were provided according to the contract. The council accorded him six quarters of pure corn and four ass-loads of wine.

On the 23d of the following April the council was again called to decide on the proposition of Signorelli to paint the four walls of the chapel according to his own designs. For this he asked 600 ducats and they finally agreed on 575, with lodgings and two beds, two quarters of grain every month, and twelve ass-loads of must at the vintage ensuing and every following vintage as long as the work should last, he finding all the colors except gold and lapis lazuli. He was to paint rather more than fewer figures than were contained in his designs (from which we must conclude that he had prepared his designs for approbation); to do the figures himself, especially the important ones; and to frame everything with decorative designs. A competent painter was to pass judgment on the work when done. Imagine a small nineteenth-century painter submitting to all these restrictions and affronts to genius!

Signorelli was in Orvieto with interruptions till 1504, though in 1502 he appears again as prior of Cortona. In the winter of 1502 he painted the great altarpiece of St. Margaret of Cortona, Mary and the apostles bewailing the dead Christ, which is now in the choir of the Duomo.[1] Visscher says: "When we think of the terrible sufferings which the master went through this year, the distressing war, the pestilence, the loss of his dear son, the deep tragedy of this splendid picture is redoubled for us; it seems a scene that the painter has gone through." In 1503 Luca was in Orvieto and painted on a large tile a portrait of himself with the chamberlain, Niccolo Angeli. This tile, originally in the Capella Nuova, is now in the Opera.[2] In 1505 he lost another son. There is a letter of 1507 in which the Duke of Urbino begs the Orvietans to pay Signorelli what they still owe him for the frescos of the new chapel, from which it seems that the work was complete and that the Orvietans had learned the ways of Fra Angelico in keeping engagements.

In the spring of 1508 Luca was sent to Florence on business of his city, and there saw the works of Fra Bartolommeo, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, and at the end of that year he was employed

1 Unfortunately damaged by the fire there a few years back. C. F. MURRAY.

2 I have had it in my hands. There is an inscription on the back given in Visscher. C. F. MURRAY.

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with others in the Vatican by Julius II. He did some work in the apartment arranged by Nicholas IV. Among those at work there at that time were Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Sansovino.

In 1513 Giovanni de' Medici was elected pope, assuming the title of Leo X.; and the festivities on the occasion were of the most splendid description. Painters and sculptors were set to work, triumphal arches built, the arms of the Medici were set up everywhere, and all the towns connected with Rome or the family of the Medici, and all the great families, sent representatives to Rome. We know that Signorelli was there, though not in what capacity, by a letter from Michelangelo to the Captain of Cortona, in which he says that having met Signorelli in the street in Rome in the first year of Leo X., Luca begged him to lend him forty juli and told him where to send them, which request he complied with, sending the money by an apprentice. Some days after Luca came into his workshop while he was at work and reproached him with not having fulfilled his promise. Michelangelo gave him forty juli more, and after a little conversation he went away and had never returned or sent the money. Buonarotti demands justice and says that if the Captain of Cortona cannot see him righted he will apply to the Roman authority. The reply of the Captain of Cortona is not known, but Visscher thinks that the apparent dishonesty was doubtless explained, because so honored and honorable a man could not play so shabby a trick.

This journey to Rome was the last important one of which we know anything. Luca was then seventy-one years old, and during the rest of his life he remained at home at work on his commissions. He painted in 1515 the Madonna for the altar of S. Vincenzo, in S. Domenico; in 1516 the "Descent from the Cross" for the fraternity of the Holy Cross in La Fratta, and in 1519 a panel for the fraternity of S. Geronimo in Arezzo. Of the last picture Vasari tells us that the panel was carried to Arezzo on the shoulders of the members of the fraternity, and that Luca himself, though stricken in years, accompanied it to see it put in its place.

After this he painted for the church on the public place in Cortona a predella of the Presentation (1521), and for the church of Sta. Maria della Pieve in Perugia a panel (which did not satisfy the priors); for the parish church of Foiano an altarpiece (1522); one for the chapel of the council house of Cortona (1522); and

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a fresco in the chapel of the palace of Cardinal Passerini was begun, but left unfinished. By his will he was buried in the family vault in S. Francesco. He left his property to his son Thomas and his grandson Giulio, with the exception of small sums of money, pensions in corn and oil, and some presents of garments to other relations.

After the frescos of Orvieto the chief works of Signorelli are two Moses subjects in the Sistine Chapel, which, though in one sense more accessible to the public, are much less visible, owing to the bad light and their height from the eye. In composition they seem huddled and confused, but there are most admirable groups and single figures, as the Aaron of the "Giving of the Law," a kneeling figure to whom Moses is giving the rod, in the left-hand corner of the picture, the head of Aaron being of great beauty; but in this as in the companion, the migration of Moses in Egypt, the figures are, with one exception in the latter, draped. This one is a noble sitting figure of a young man, whose cloak floats back from his shoulders as he sits bowed in an attitude of fixed attention, listening to the reading of the law. The anatomical markings are less exaggerated than in the frescos of Orvieto, and indeed are free from that characteristic of Luca's nude figures generally. The landscape is more markedly conventional than that of Benozzo Gozzoli.

To a certain extent, no doubt, the character of the compositions is determined by the conditions of the place and its uses, as well as by the arrangement imposed by the taste of the chapter, of the pope, or whoever decided the treatment. The necessity of putting a number of stories in one fresco made it impossible for the painter to follow out freely the suggestions of his own imagination. But this was a condition inherent in the uses of art as long as it had ecclesiastical functions, and weighed equally on all artists who worked for the Church. The burden was a heavy one, and to have submitted to it as Signorelli did perhaps justifies the compliment paid him by the chamberlain of Orvieto. Certainly so far as mastery of his material in any sense of that word, power of drawing, and knowledge of the human figure go, he was the first of his day, and among the first of the whole cycle of Italian art. *De gustibus non est disputandum;* and while I have no desire to urge the preference of the qualities which seem to me the most to be esteemed in a painter, and which I most enjoy, I admit with entire readiness

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that in the qualities of *the school*, the technical mastery which is to most critics the whole test of greatness, Signorelli is one of the most stupendous of the group at the height of modern art. Michelangelo and Raphael alone, possibly, can be given preference over him in these respects. And even in their company he is stupendous.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE fresco by Luca Signorelli from which the detail of the "Angel Sounding the Trumpet" is taken is in the chapel of S. Brizio in the Duomo of Orvieto, and represents the resurrection of the dead. It is one of the series which adorn the walls, and measures 23 feet 6 inches wide by 22 feet high. The frescos occupy the upper half of the walls, extending from the high ornamental dado, and terminating at the arches of the ceiling. The human figures are larger than life, the angels still larger. There are two angels in the "Resurrection," and their grand figures with outstretched wings and fluttering draperies fill the upper half of the fresco. They stand upon clouds, while about their feet dart cherubs.

Beneath is the risen concourse of the dead. Some are still in the act of coming out of the ground; some stand in postures of transport, astounded and overpowered by the sound of the trumpets as they gaze upon the heavens and the falling stars; others are calmed to an ecstasy of joy as they clasp their friends; others are not yet clothed with flesh. A group of skeletons to the right come trooping round the corner, making a grotesque appearance.

The coloring is light and vigorous; the flesh-tints are brownish yellow, and are strongly relieved against the light gray horizon of the sky behind, for there is no distance. The figures seem to be on the top of the world. The upper part of the sky is in a fine tone of yellow. This portion is studded with gilded balls, toned down and in harmony with the coloring. The balls are thicker and closer as they approach the topmost portion. They symbolize the falling of the stars from heaven, in allusion to Rev. vi. 13: "And the stars of the heaven fell unto the earth, as a fig tree casteth her unripe figs, when she is shaken of a great wind." Such balls figure as stars in all the series, many having gilded rays added. The wings of the angel shown in the detail are greenish, his robe purple, the cross of the flag red.

T. C.

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Chapter XXII

LEONARDO DA VINCI

(Born 1452, died 1519)

Leonardo was the illegitimate son of Ser Piero of Vinci, a little Tuscan town near Empoli, and is recorded by Vasari as a "lad of good parts, handsome, clever, and volatile, so that he was disposed to do a little of everything." Showing a fondness for drawing, he was taken by his father to Verrocchio, who, according to Vasari, was amazed at his precocity and accepted him as an apprentice. He remained in the studio of his master until he was past twenty, doing all sorts of work—drawing, modeling, architecture, and plans of engineering schemes. His companions in the studio were Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi, and he must have met there all the artistic minds of the Florentine school, just then in the highest phase of its activity and originality. The circumstances were such that one may say that in no instance in the history of art had the time and the man so completely coincided to produce the complete artist, had only constancy been added. Giotto before and Titian after found the stars in conjunction in their favor, but even Giotto does not seem to have possessed so complete an outfit of talents as Leonardo. Vasari tells us that he was as gracious and sympathetic as he was wise and handsome, and such was the fascination of his conversation that he drew men to him universally; and though he was never wealthy he always had horses and servants at his command. "So many were his caprices," says the biographer, "that, philosophizing on natural objects, he got to understand the properties of plants, observing the movements of the heavens, the course of the moon and the motion of the sun." In his first edition Vasari says that he became in this way a heretic and thought that

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to be a philosopher was more than being a Christian, but the sentence is omitted from the second edition of the life. He also says of Leonardo that his imagination and ideal were so high that he hardly ever succeeded in satisfying himself with his productions, and that this is the reason why he left so many works unfinished; but the true reason is probably deeper than this, viz., that he was too fickle in his impulses to be able to persist long in the pursuit of one object.[1] Seeing him as we can see him now, at the distance of centuries and in comparison with his rivals if not his peers, we can judge him better than could Vasari, who was overpowered by the reputation of the greatness of the man, and attributed to him achievements of which he had only the possibilities. When he failed it was, first, from the want of persistence, and, secondly, from the want of perception of the ideal, so that he succeeds entirely only in what must be considered realistic art.

Of the work of his early Florentine period we have very little; he is inscribed in the company of painters in 1472, and his first recorded commission was given in 1478. Of this period are the "Rotella," the "Medusa," "Neptune," and a cartoon of Adam and Eve. He seems to have gone to Milan about 1483, having prospered little in Florence. A letter of his exists proposing to Ludovico il Moro, regent for his nephew, Gian Galeazzo, plans of engineering work and military devices. Vasari places his departure from Florence in 1494, when Ludovico became Duke, but it is certain that he had been at Milan for several years during the regency. One of the curious legends which Vasari has handed down to us is that Leonardo was sent to Ludovico by Lorenzo de' Medici on account of his skill as a musician, and that he had made for himself a lyre of silver in the form of a horse's skull, on which he produced sounds surpassing all that other musicians could produce. He was, however, employed also as a painter, for we find that he was ordered to paint a Nativity which was sent as a present to the Emperor Maximilian. He then painted the fresco on which his

[1] This is as severe as Ruskin. I don't agree. A man of such extraordinary knowledge could not possibly stick to one thing. C. F. MURRAY.

Michelangelo's knowledge was as great in several branches as Leonardo's in many, but he would willingly have stuck to sculpture had he been permitted. The difficulty with Leonardo was that he was not of the true artistic temperament, and his imagination was that of the great mechanician, in which art was included as construction, not as creation. But the judgment of Mr. Murray is not so wide from mine as it seems — Leonardo was a man of extraordinary knowledge because of extraordinary mental gifts, and these gifts called him all ways at once, and fickleness was the result. W. J. S.

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legendary reputation rests more than on all else he did, and to which, ruined and twice repainted as it is, the general estimate attributes virtues it never possessed when the hand of Da Vinci could be seen in it—the Cenacolo, or Last Supper, in the convent of Sta. Maria delle Grazie.

A great deal has been written and said about the supposed sublime renunciation of the painter in leaving the head of Christ unfinished, but I believe mostly in entire inappreciation of the true difficulties which beset him. The story relates that Leonardo, while engaged on the picture, would often stand half a day gazing at it and doing nothing.[1] The prior of the monastery, impatient at this inefficiency, after repeatedly reproaching Leonardo, who made no reply, complained to the Duke, who, as in duty bound, brought the complaint to Leonardo, explaining that he did so only in order to content the prior. Leonardo replied that he was working harder than when he was handling the brush, and that he was puzzling over two heads in the picture, those of Christ and Judas, not finding a type for the second or being able to conceive the first, but that if nothing better provided itself he would make a Judas of the prior.[2]

While living in Milan under the protection of Ludovico, he occupied himself during sixteen years with what he considered his great work, the colossal equestrian statue of Duke Francesco I. The clay model is said to have been completed, but when the French came into the city in 1499 they amused themselves by demolishing it. Leonardo is reported to have composed a work on the anatomy of the horse; this is also lost, as well as the wax model of the equestrian group.[3] His desultory habit of mind was made more desultory by poverty during the last days of his Milanese career. Ludovico was able to make but tardy and insufficient provision for him and the Academy he had founded in Ludovico's name. On his return to Florence, he heard that the monks of the Convent of the Servi had commissioned Filippino to paint the altarpiece for the high altar of the Annunziata, and expressed his desire to be intrusted with such a work, on which Filippino resigned the commission in

1 All this I believe to be rubbish, as you do. I believe the head was finished. I have a contemporary copy of it. C. F. MURRAY.

2 Giraldi tells us that the head of Judas was finally painted from studies Leonardo made from all the vile and wicked heads he saw during the year he was at work on the picture. This is more probable than that he painted it, as the tradition is, from the prior, as in that case it probably would have been soon effaced. W. J. S.

3 No; it is at Windsor, or at least the drawings of it are. C. F. MURRAY.

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Leonardo's favor. Of course the monks gladly accepted the substitution, invited the painter to their monastery, and charged themselves with the care of his family. As usual, he thought and studied more than he worked, and only after a considerable period of idleness did he produce the cartoon, with which he contented himself, and Filippino painted the picture. His principal work subsequently seems to have been in portraiture, and he did many portraits of women. Of one of these, the "Mona Lisa," portrait of the wife of Francesco del Giocondo, I have no need to speak; it is the best known and probably the best preserved of all Leonardo's finished works. Vasari's description of it, drawn in his usual exaggerated style, will be useful to us in determining the real character of the artist's genius, and it is worth giving in full.

The eyes had that moisture and sparkle which we see continually in nature, and cannot be rendered without great subtlety. The lashes, showing how the hairs grew in the skin, in one part thicker and in another thinner, and following the curves of the pores, could not be more natural.[1] The nose, with its nostrils, pink and tender, seemed to be alive. The mouth, with its line of separation, and its extremities united by the red of the lips with the carnations of the face, seemed not color but really flesh. In the dimple of the throat, if you looked carefully, you saw the pulse beat; and in truth one might say that it was painted in a manner to make any artificer fear and tremble, be he who he might. He employed also this artifice, that, Madonna Lisa being most beautiful, he had some one who, while he drew her, sang or made music on some instrument, and buffoons who kept her merry so as to relieve that gravity which painting gives to portraiture; and in this work of Leonardo there was a smile so charming that it was a thing more divine than human to see, and it was held so wonderful a thing that the living person could not be beyond it.

The success of this portrait was such that the city would have some work by the painter, and he was commissioned to paint the council hall, for which he made the cartoon which was in competition with that of Michelangelo. Both are now lost, but we have a part of Leonardo's in a copy; several engravings also exist, but of uncertain authority. Leonardo, if Vasari is to be believed, began to paint the picture in oil on the wall, and if so, this is sufficient to explain the destruction of it; for though he understood the use of oil as a vehicle as no one else of his time understood it, no means had yet been invented to make it answer for wall-painting proper. The story of this work, though interesting in the history of art, has no lesson for us. He was interrupted in it by a request from the

[1] There are no lashes! C. F. MURRAY.

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French governor of Milan that the Seigniory would lend him Leonardo for a time, and he had leave of absence for three months, afterward prolonged, and becoming finally, as is probable, the cause of the total abandonment of the picture, as he became engaged in engineering schemes which indulged his desultoriness and mechanical tendencies, inclinations which seem to have been at all times stronger with him than his love of art. He painted at this time several pictures which have perished from the defects of the method of execution, being experiments in mediums which his researches in chemistry had suggested to him. Being commissioned to paint a picture of the pope, he began at once to distil oils and essences for the varnishing of it, on which the pope remarked, with great good sense, "Alas! he will do nothing who thinks of the end of his work before beginning it."

The rivalry between Leonardo and Michelangelo, which had its origin in the competition for the decoration of the council hall, broke out into such decided antagonism that the former accepted the invitation of the King of France to go to that country and enter into his service. But in the employment of the king the same want of the power of continuous application which had been the cause of the barrenness of his life in all adequate results of his talents made them as fruitless as they had been in Milan and Florence. He was requested to paint a St. Ann, but postponed it, as was his custom, and died, without having executed the commission, on May 2, 1519, at the age of sixty-seven. The story Vasari tells of the painter dying in the arms of the king is, unfortunately for the romance of his life, a fable. It is shown by contemporary records that Da Vinci lived and died at the Château de Cloux, while the king at the time of his death was at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and learned the death of his favorite from Francesco Melzi. Vasari says of him:

> The loss of Leonardo pained beyond expression all who had known him, because there had never been a person who did such honor to painting. He, by the splendor of his manner, which was most beautiful, tranquilized every troubled mind, and by his words bent to his will every obstinate determination. His strength was such that he could control the most violent rage, and his hand twisted the iron ring of a door-knocker or a horseshoe as if it were lead. His generosity took in and fed every friend, poor or rich, so long as he had genius and character. He honored and decorated by every action even an empty and dishonored chamber, on which account Florence had a great gift in the birth of Leonardo, and a loss more than infinite in his death. In the art of painting he added to the method of using color a certain

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shadow by the use of which his successors have given great force and relief to their figures. . . . From Leonardo we have the anatomy of the horse and that of man much more complete; whence from all his powers we understand that although he worked more in word than in deed his name and reputation will never become extinct.

Of the art of Leonardo we have scarcely enough that is authentic to do more than estimate his powers. The work by which above all others his reputation is established, the Cenacolo, is so badly retouched that we can hardly do it complete justice; we probably have nothing but the composition and general effect of it left. Most of the pictures which have been attributed to him are of more than doubtful authenticity, and are probably either emulations of his manner by his followers or copies of his work made by men more careful of their medium and manner of working than he; for he seems to have made art more the subject of his theories and experiments than of true artistic devotion. The plain truth concerning Leonardo is that he had of the supreme qualities of the artist only the accuracy of vision, which is his scientific outfit, and the power of concentration, which he used fitfully and rarely. His temperament and mental qualities were purely scientific and his painting was realistic; he had immense executive power, as we see from his drawings, of which many have been preserved, but his imagination ran into mechanism and science exclusively. He was a great engineer and geometrician; his scientific investigations far outran the science of his time, and his intellectual power and fascination were such that he imposed himself on all who knew him as great in all that he had a mind to undertake. It is easy to understand that Michelangelo should hold his art as mistaken and inferior; but to the general public, to whom the imitation of nature in her material aspect is the only standard of excellence, it is certain that his work was a revelation, and that it must have made his reputation commensurate with his opinion of himself. He was the first great Italian realist, possibly the first who actually attempted to paint the model directly from the life; for this we can suppose from the manner in which the painter is reported to have succeeded in securing the smile which has made the picture of Mona Lisa a unique attainment in the art of its day. A proof of his limitations to the actual representation of what he had before him is found in the entire want of nature in the background of the few pictures on which we have the right to base conclusions—his distances are fabrications of the studio, with no evidence of his possession of any ideal faculty. On the whole, therefore, I conclude

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that the greatness of Leonardo's reputation as painter is very largely the reflection of the personal influence he exercised on his contemporaries through his stupendous intellectual power.

The so-called "Book of Painting" of Leonardo da Vinci is simply a collection of precepts which were probably noted down for the instruction of the pupils of that academy of arts which he instituted in Milan, and consists in the main of generalizations and theories which show the tendency of his mind to a positivism in art which excludes the purely poetic conception of it. There are certain precepts, too, as to the study of nature and notation of her phenomena which prove his extraordinary powers of vision and lucidity of apprehension of things seen—both rare faculties, and the combination of which is so rare that a true artistic imagination may be held to be far more common. He had a passionate love of nature in all her manifestations, and even in his painting it is not art, but nature, which commands his allegiance; his drawing was the handmaid of his science, and not of the ideal.

A single example of these precepts of which his book is composed will illustrate what I have said. It is headed "Of Imitating Painters," and among all that his book contains it is one of the clearest of his injunctions: "I say to the painters that no one should ever imitate the manner of another, because he would thus be the nephew and not the son of nature; because, the material of nature being so abundant, they ought rather to go to her than to the masters who have only learned from her. And this I say not for those who desire to become rich, but for those who desire by art to acquire fame and honor." This is entirely in the latest vein of modern realism, ignoring the greater truth that art is the result of a long evolution, a secular education in which every successive master has advanced the standard of excellence a little. And with all this he lays down rules which are nothing less than conventional prescriptions; for instance: "When you have to draw from nature take your position three times the height of the object distant from it." Of the nearly one thousand rules in this code of laws of art there are many which are astonishing from the evidence they give of his unsurpassable accuracy of perception of the facts of nature, and many which only show the limitation of his views on art, and as a system would have no other result than that of crippling the student who should attempt to obey them. Leonardo da Vinci is the most luminous proof in the history of art that the really scientific and the completely artistic faculty do not coexist in one mind.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE unfinished work of Leonardo da Vinci, "The Adoration of the Magi," from which I take the detail, hangs in the large hall of the old masters, the next room to the tribune of the Uffizi. This is an authenticated picture, and bears the stamp of Leonardo's hand as strong and clear as can be. It is a large work, measuring seven and a half feet square, exclusive of its frame. It is painted on wood, upon a gesso ground in tempera. The ground-tints of the picture are merely laid in, and consist of greenish and yellowish tones. The composition is truly magnificent. The Madonna seated is the central object and immediately seizes the attention, while round about her (though at a respectful distance, as though not desiring to approach too near) are distributed the kings and high personages in attitudes of adoration and awe. The Madonna is quite unconscious of it all, and looks down smiling and happy upon the Child. One could not imagine a more graceful attitude or more winning appearance. It thrills me every time I look at it, and the ease of her way of holding the Child is very charming and delightful. The Child, too, appears to me the incarnation of a very high idea. He is receiving the gift of the old king, while with the other hand he appears to be pointing heavenward—a very graceful action, and as though he meant by it that he received the gift in the name of his heavenly Father. The act seems to inspire the old king above with wonder and amazement.

The background is fanciful and fascinating. A tree rises to the left and behind the Madonna. The top of the picture abruptly terminates it. This is well studied and worked up. It mingles its foliage with another, a palm whose spray-like leaves are most minutely and delicately finished up. This is the most finished part of the picture.

To the left is a ruin. A flight of steps ascends above arches and there ends. Graceful figures, outlined, are seated upon them or stand about, losing themselves in nothingness. Through one of the arches to the left a group of horsemen come prancing. Other figures in outline are traced here and there between the colonnades. To the right of the picture a group on horseback are engaged in combat. One holds a standard. They bend toward one another and mingle with other forms and rocks half made out and sketchy, as though reminiscent of his famous cartoon of the "Battle for the Standard."

This "Adoration" by Leonardo as far surpasses anything else of its kind as his famous "Last Supper" does all others in its own line.

T. C.

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Chapter XXIII

FRA BARTOLOMMEO DELLA PORTA

(Born 1475, died 1517)

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

(Born 1474, died 1515)

The relation between Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli was so intimate during the greater part of their not very eventful lives that they can hardly be considered apart. Fra Bartolommeo was born in a suburb of Florence, and received his surname della Porta from the fact that his father lived near the gate of the city. At the age of nine, as he showed a precocious fondness for drawing, he was put in the studio of Cosimo Rosselli, having as one of his companions in work Albertinelli, a year his senior. A warm friendship arose between them, which lasted through life, though at times chilled by the utter difference between their natures,— Bartolommeo, or Baccio, as he was called in his secular life, being of a gravity of character which accords with what we generally attribute to the painters of the religious epoch,[1] while Albertinelli was of a merry temperament, and strained the limitations of religious art in his feeling for something more mundane. When they conceived that the instruction of Rosselli had given them all they could hope for from him they took a studio together and worked independently, Mariotto devoting himself mainly to the study of the antiques in the Medici gardens and Baccio to that of Masaccio, Filippino, and Leonardo. The deeper nature finally pre-

[1] The existence of certain drawings from antique motives, distinctly irreligious, does not disprove the general tendency. At that time there was a strong feeling in Florence for the worst forms of Hellenistic art, to which Baccio yielded for the moment only. W. J. S.

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vailed over the more vivacious, and later in life Mariotto took his friend as his model, and, with occasional departures due to his invincible love of pleasures which had nothing to do with art, they worked together at intervals through their lives, which, as they began nearly together, ended only two years apart. Their installation as painters and students on their own account took place when the elder was sixteen to eighteen, Vasari giving the latter date and Cavalcaselle the former.

The serious nature of Baccio was attracted by the preaching of Savonarola, who occupied the attention of all minds in Florence at the time when the painter was just entering into manhood, and he soon became one of his most earnest disciples. Mariotto, on the contrary, enrolled himself amongst the scoffers, and the friendship of the two had a short interruption, each taking part in the antagonism which distracted Florence. But the pious nature of Baccio could not hold rancor, and the shallower one of Mariotto could not dispense with the influence of his younger mentor, and though they never agreed as to the reform or the reformer, they became reconciled in art. Baccio became one of the puritans, and contributed his profane works to the bonfire which the Dominican kindled in the public place of Florence, abandoning thenceforward the practice of profane art. He went further in his enthusiasm than his gentle nature warranted, and was one of the defenders of the convent of San Marco when it was attacked by the mob to drag out Savonarola, and, terrified by the conflict, he vowed, if he came out alive and safe, to enter the order of St. Dominic. It was a year after the crisis of his spiritual master's fate that he took the vows. The sobriety of his temperament and his conscientious regard of his duties are shown even in his manner of paying obedience to his vow. He made the same preparations to enter the convent that he would have made for death. He had a younger half-brother who, not being of sound intellect or from some other cause not being responsible for himself, had been put under the tutorship of Baccio, and he had to arrange for the making over to him of the property which his father had left him; and he had also taken a commission for a fresco in the chapel which Gerozzo Dini had built for the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova, on which he worked till 1499, when, having finished the upper portion and the cartoon for the whole, he left the finishing to his fellow-worker Mariotto, who completed it from the designs of Baccio. On the 26th of July, 1500, the

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painter took the vows at Prato, and a year later he returned to the convent of San Marco in Florence, the scene of the labors of his beloved master. Under his religious name, Fra Bartolommeo, he buried himself and his ambitions in the cloister, and it was only at the solicitations of his prior and friend, Sante Pagnini, that he consented to take up again his pencils in the service of God. The "Last Judgment," which he had designed and in part painted for the hospital, had been recognized as a work which in some respects was an advance on all previous painters, and the order of St. Dominic had had too much acquaintance with art in its ranks not to know that the new brother could in no other way so advance its interests as by his pencil. Vasari says of the fresco of the "Last Judgment" that it was considered by the artists of the time as the *ne plus ultra* of the art; it is said to have served as a lesson for contemporary painters, and even Raphael, with all his genius for composition, seems to have taken something from this artist. The first work which Fra Bartolommeo executed in his new life was the "Appearing of the Virgin to St. Bernard" for the church of the Badia, and now in the Academy of Fine Arts (Accademia) of Florence. As the price was not agreed on before the picture was executed, it became the subject of a dispute between the patron for whose order it was painted and the convent, Fra Bartolommeo's personal interests being merged in the rights of the order and the proceeds of his work going into the treasury of San Marco. The price put on the picture by the painter was 200 ducats; Bernardo del Bianco, the patron, offered 80 ducats, and the affair promised to be the subject of a suit at law, when, by the intermediation of Francesco Magalotti, brother-in-law of Bernardo and a friend of the convent, it was compromised at 100 ducats.

The painter was not so easily rid of the world as he had imagined. His half-insane brother Piero came to break his peace again by his extravagances, which led the relatives to whom he had transferred his guardianship to withdraw from the charge, so that Fra Bartolommeo had again to become responsible. This time his friend Mariotto came to his relief and took charge of the brother, undertaking to teach him painting at the same time, administer his estate for five years, and take as payment the income of the property. The prior of the convent and the father of Mariotto witnessed the contract, which was executed on the 1st of January, 1506. To aid in reawakening his devotion to his art came the arrival of

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Raphael in Florence, which took place at the juncture at which he had resumed the pencil, and in 1506 the relations between the two painters took on the character of intimacy, which shows itself in the works of both executed during this period. Raphael caught the mellowness of tint which Fra Bartolommeo had attained in his use of oils, and which the friar finally carried to excess, thus sadly interfering with the stability of some of his later pictures, and he learned the charm of Raphael's grace and the value of the Perugian treatment of landscape.

When, in 1508, Raphael left Florence for Rome, Fra Bartolommeo went to Venice to study the school of color. He was welcomed by his brothers in St. Dominic with open arms, and a commission was at once given him to paint a picture for their vicar. This he was wise enough to paint only after he had finished his studies at Venice and had returned to Florence, when he produced the picture from which Mr. Cole has engraved a portion—St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine of Siena in ecstasy at the sight of God. His stay in Venice must have been short, for this picture was painted in the same year. The monks of the convent at Venice made difficulties about the price of the picture, for which the painter asked seventy-eight ducats, having already received twenty-eight, and it was finally sent by the prior to Lucca, where it still remains. In 1509, with the consent of the prior, Albertinelli was installed in the studio belonging to the convent as the official assistant of Fra Bartolommeo, and this time the partnership lasted till January 5, 1512, when it was dissolved for reasons unknown,[1] by mutual consent. In the division of the proceeds which was provided for by the act of association the money which came to each was 212 ducats, and the pictures were divided between them, the studio effects being the property of the friar for his life, to revert on his death to Albertinelli.

At this juncture Mariotto decided to give up painting and became an innkeeper, establishing himself outside the Porta San Gallo of Florence; but this new vocation was found to be a delusion, and he returned to his colors a year after. We have, however, no intimation of any later association with Fra Bartolommeo. The latter in 1514 made a visit of two months to Rome, and not long after Albertinelli also visited the then center of all art interest; and both seem to have found there the seeds of the disease which ended both

[1] Possibly the change may have been due to the change of prior, coinciding as it did with the retirement of the friend of Fra Bartolommeo from the priorate.

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lives prematurely. At any rate, Mariotto came back in a litter and died in Florence November 5, 1515. Fra Bartolommeo was then in the hospital of Pian di Mugnone, and though he continued to paint during the next two years, his health was never well established after his return from Rome, and he died of a new access of fever on the 6th of October, 1517.[1]

It is unlikely that we can justly estimate the relative position which was assigned to Fra Bartolommeo in his lifetime or immediately after his death. Something of his fame was due to the technical quality of oils in which there was then but little experimenting. The unwonted brilliancy of this quality in the Florentine school gave a fascination to the general effect which has now become lost through the loss of intensity of color which his pictures have sustained in comparison with the tempera pictures and those in which oil was used only for glazings and to heighten the brilliancy of the tempera. The vehicle is so strong an element in the friar's work that the darker passages in some instances have quite lost all their value as color. The execution is thin and at times disagreeable in comparison with the contemporary work of the Venetians, and the types of his saints and sacred personages are wanting in robustness and vitality. His religious conceptions are, however, amongst the most dignified of his school, and the true rank of the artist is rather in his powers of design than in his color or his ideals of character. The strongly individual types which we had in Botticelli and in Filippino are as far from the ideal of beauty and conventional grace as those of Fra Bartolommeo, but they impress us by their veracity and variety, while those of the friar do not. He borrowed well and from many sources, but what he added is not always the best of his work. His personality strikes me as weak, and his work owes no doubt much of its dignity to the effect of his devotional feeling and to his sympathetic appropriation of the knowledge of his predecessors. Except for his carrying the quality of oil painting further than his contemporaries had done, I do not see any innovation or supremacy in his pictures which remain.[2]

1 Dohme says August 3; Gruyer October 6.

2 I think his greatest quality was his perfect knowledge of chiaroscuro. The Lucca picture is the finest I know in color. C. F. MURRAY.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

FRA BARTOLOMMEO

THE "Ecstasy of St. Catherine of Siena," by Fra Bartolommeo, from which the detail of the figure of St. Mary Magdalene is taken, is in the gallery of the Palazzo Pubblico of Lucca. It measures 8 feet wide by about 11 feet high; is an oil-painting on canvas; and is reckoned as the masterpiece of the artist, which undoubtedly it is. The upper half is occupied by God the Father seated upon clouds, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding a book on which is inscribed the Alpha and Omega. He is surrounded by angels and cherubs, and the clouds behind assume the forms of angels' heads. An angel below holds a scroll with the words "Divinus amor extasim facit" inscribed upon it.

The lower half of the composition is filled by the two figures of Mary Magdalene holding the vase, and St. Catherine of Siena in her habit of a Dominican nun. They float upon clouds which likewise assume the shapes of angels' heads, and separate them from the earth, thus carrying out the idea of their elevation above the mundane sphere.

A quiet, charming evening landscape stretches beyond. The sky, which is a soft, cool, delightful blue, grades down to a lovely yellow tinged with orange, while the distant hills are of a delicious cool green. The landscape is of soft brownish tones delicately blended. The Magdalene is relieved against the sky in a rich deep blue robe intensely dark in the shadows, which have darkened unduly by time. Her undergarment about the shoulders is of a lustrous crimson tone. How pensive and peaceful is her manner! and the expression of her face so serene and sweet! I felt while engraving it that the artist designed to show in her face—the face of the penitent Magdalene—"the peace of God which passeth all understanding." Surely this must be the secret of its serenity. But nothing in the world could surpass in expression the figure of St. Catherine. Truly she is rapt in ecstasy as she contemplates the glory above. Her hands are raised partly, and her face is slightly averted from the spectator, so that her whole being is what arrests the eye. Her figure is not so erect as that of the Magdalene, but inclines slightly forward, as though she would prostrate herself before the heavenly vision. In point of action it is wonderfully expressive of inward emotion. Vasari's allusion to it is "a figure than which it is not possible that anything better can be done in that manner."

There is a deep religious feeling pervading the picture which will surely affect the beholder if he will give himself up to it. I found it hard to steel myself against it while engraving it, and to look at it merely from an art standpoint. It is prayer and communion with heaven itself. There are some words in gold, in the sky, running from the Magdalene's head, in Latin, reading, "Nostra conversatio in coeli est," which translated would be, "Our conversation is in heaven."

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

ALBERTINELLI'S masterpiece is the "Visitation," in the large hall of the Tuscan school, Uffizi Gallery, Florence. It measures 7 feet 7½ inches high by 4 feet 10 inches wide, and is painted in tempera on wood. Figures, life-size.

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The simple grandeur of the composition, combined with its warmth and richness of coloring and the depth of feeling depicted in the expression and action of the figures, makes this work a delightful and soul-satisfying thing to contemplate. We may well imagine Elisabeth the elder speaking the very words St. Luke ascribes to her, "And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" The sky is of a soft warm blue, grading down tenderly into a warmer and more neutral tone. The architecture of the portico is of a warm gray, and through either side of the columns we obtain glimpses of the hilly country of Judea that Mary arose up and went into in those days on her visit to Elisabeth. The figure of Mary is clad in a rich blue mantle falling from her head. Her dress beneath is of a fine rich crimson hue. St. Elisabeth's robe, falling from her loins in fine simple folds, is a rich yellow of an orange tone, and subdued into delightful harmony with the surrounding colors. Her inner garment and sleeve are of a deep melting green. The white linen forming her head-dress and falling over her shoulders is a fine bit of color — the light upon it so rich and glowing, and the cool opaque tints managed with perfect mastery of nature. The foreground of flowers and herbage is remarkable — so broadly treated and yet revealing on near inspection the most exquisite delicacy of detail; for deep among its foliage and grasses can be seen delicate violets and strawberries amid other flowers and plants, all painted with the utmost truth to nature, and all so fresh and cool. But the sweet and tender expression of Elisabeth as she gazes up lovingly into the face of the "mother of my Lord" is one of the most touching things of Italian art.

T. C.

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Chapter XXIV

FRANCIA (FRANCESCO DI MARCO RAIBOLINI)

(Born 1450, died 1518)

The name by which this painter was and is still generally known is not well accounted for, but is supposed to be simply the abbreviation of his christened name, Francesco, assumed afterward in all probability as a surname to distinguish him from some other Francesco, the recognition of the family name, except in noble families, not being customary in Italy till a late period, and in some regions not being habitual even now. His pictures are signed F. Francia Aurifex, or simply Francia Aurifex, and sometimes with the addition of *Bon* or *Bononiensis* (of Bologna), showing that he did not himself recognize the family name, and that in his own day he was better known as a goldsmith than as a painter.[1] He is indeed the most remarkable instance of that versatility in the practice of the arts which arose from the broad and thorough method of education in general principles on which the art of the Renaissance is based. He was one of the most successful medalists of the time, and head of the mint of Bologna under the Bentivoglio family, the tyrants of that city; the medals and coins issued from its mint under his direction of it are amongst the most admirable that we possess. The art of the goldsmith was generally considered as extending to all branches of design, and the passage of the pupil from the goldsmith's *bottega* to that of a painter was common at all times in the best period of the arts in Italy, as is shown by the example of Botticelli, Verrocchio, and the Pollaiuoli. Vasari says that Francia, having known Mantegna and other

[1] This is not conclusive. Like others, he signs his medals "pictor" and his pictures "aurifex." C. F. Murray.

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painters, determined at a mature age to try his hand at painting.[1] His training as a gold-worker, and the continual demand for the small figures which formed a great part of the more important works in gold and silver in an age when devotion combined with luxury to make the goldsmith the most important artisan of the epoch, made every apprentice of talent practically a sculptor, while the rules which directed the painter in all the stages of his work were so well settled, and the processes so systematic and direct, that they were acquired without the slightest difficulty by any good draftsman. What was most important was that he should draw with certainty, and the habit of working in metal with the graver is certainly the best of all trainings for this. With this general knowledge of all that art had to do, he was thrown into contact with Mantegna, who, being of all men of his time in the highest rank amongst painters, and uniting with the gifts of the painter the feeling for form of the sculptor and the fertility of decorative design of the goldsmith, was therefore probably the most sympathetic with the tendencies of Francia of all his great contemporaries. Master in painting he cannot be said to have had, for while one authority attributes his instruction to Marco Zoppa, another, with whom Mr. Murray agrees, assigns it to Lorenzo Costa, whose style his more resembles than that of any other of his early contemporaries. But in 1490 he was already recognized as one of the ablest draftsmen of that part of Italy to which he belonged. Bologna had in fact developed but slight artistic feeling in comparison with the Venetian or Tuscan regions, and the stimulus of a strongly artistic atmosphere was wanting to develop his tendencies. As was to be expected under the circumstances, he came under the influence of the most individual school amongst those around him, and this was the Umbrian. Cavalcaselle attributes to Perugino the shape which painting took in the hands of Francia as soon as he had determined his style.

The revolt of the Bolognese, or perhaps more properly the conquest of Bologna by Julius II., was a grievous loss to Francia, to whom Bentivoglio had been a patron and a friend; for though he remained as die-maker to the pope, the new lord of Bologna, the far-away encouragement of a sovereign who had the whole of Italy to draw from for his art was a slight recompense for the position he held under the Bentivoglios. But Italy was no longer so

[1] Very unlikely. C. F. MURRAY.

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divided in its provincialism as it had been in the earlier days of art, and the fame and works of masters of one school were known and recognized in the others more frankly than in the century before. Pictures had become more a subject of private acquisition, mainly through the higher cultivation of the nobility and the encouragement given the painters through the purchase of panels for the decoration of their palaces, but also through the change wrought in the character of the works of art through the introduction of oil painting, which led to the greater attractiveness of the works themselves to the general amateur. It had become the practice for the wealthy to order pictures for their palaces from celebrated painters, as we have seen in the cases of Mantegna and Bellini at Mantua, and though there is no evidence that Francia ever left Bologna to study elsewhere, it is known that pictures of Perugino and Raphael went to Bologna;[1] and both in their turn influenced the manner of Francia.

The way in which Francia's acquaintance with Raphael began is not known, but it is likely to have occurred through sight of the works of the latter, just as had been the case with Perugino. But Timoteo Viti, whom we now know to have exercised a great influence on Raphael, came from Urbino to Bologna in 1491, to study the art in which Francia was first in that city, and remained until 1495, when he returned to Urbino and settled there. It is probable that the pupil of Francia brought the work of his fellow Urbinate to the knowledge of his master, for it is certain that Giovanni Bentivoglio had a picture of Raphael, and that a correspondence was carried on between Raphael and Francia, and that they exchanged portraits. Writing in 1508, Raphael acknowledges the receipt of the portrait of Francia, promises his own, and sends a drawing, desiring also to receive one from Francia.[2] He adds that "Monsignor the Datario and Cardinal Riario were both expecting their Madonnas, which no doubt would be equally beautiful and well done as the previous ones." When we come to examine the dates of these occurrences we get a good light on the relations that

1 Cavalcaselle. "From the day on which his [Francia's] name first emerged into notoriety he showed a distinct Umbrian character in the form of his art, and it has been justly said by Vasari that his panels and those of Perugino 'displayed a novel spirit and softness.' Of the mode in which this new spirit expanded in Perugino, we have had occasion to speak; it was the fruit of a happy combination of Florentine and Umbrian habits. How it expanded in Francia would be a mystery if we did not know that toward the close of the 15th century the pictures of Perugino were carried to Bologna." W. J. S.

2 Francia sent a "Judith." I believe the drawing now to be in the Louvre.

C. F. MURRAY.

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must have existed between the two painters. Francia had begun painting about 1485, probably, as we find his style formed in 1490, and at the latter date he was forty years of age and Raphael was seven. At the date of the exchange of portraits, then, Francia was fifty-eight and Raphael twenty-five, both in the prime of their powers, but the elder painter had already surrendered himself to the influence of the divine Urbinate, and from this he never emancipated himself. Raphael had been painting seven years as an independent master, and had already made his ineffaceable impression on the world's art; it was not surprising that Francia should have been carried away by him. The warmth of appreciation on the part of the younger and greater master will easily be accounted for by the flattery of imitation, which to ingenuous natures is a proof of superiority.

Francia painted till 1515, and died three years later, on the 5th of January, leaving several sons, two of whom were painters of little importance. Of his frescos only two remain, in a much retouched condition, in the oratory of St. Cecilia at Bologna. His easel-pictures and portraits in oil are numerous, and show the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque tendencies respectively so strongly that some of them have long been attributed to one or the other painter.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THIS portrait of "An Unknown Man" hangs in the Sala dell' Iliade of the Pitti Gallery, Florence. It is life-size, painted on wood, and measures 27¼ inches high by 20½ inches wide. It is wonderfully subtle and delicate in treatment, simple in its variety of tones, and mellow in coloring. The landscape background is warm and tender. The sky in color is something between a greenish blue and a warm gray, becoming of a golden hue toward the horizon. The distant hills are warm bluish and greenish tones. The middle distance is warm and yellowish, grading down to the foreground into brownish tints. The background of the other side of the head is of a soft neutral brown. The hat and cloak of the figure are black, but of a soft grayish tone—the hat being of the darker shade and having a velvety richness. The trimming of the cloak suggests gold. The flesh is pale and yellowish. The hair is reddish brown.

T. C.

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Chapter XXV

GHIRLANDAIO (DOMENICO DI TOMMASO CURRADI DI DOFFO BIGORDI)

(Born 1449, died 1494)

The career of Ghirlandaio must be considered one of the most brilliant of the Renaissance. Though educated in the midst of art influences, and probably always more or less given to the pursuit of some of its forms, his father being of that jeweler's craft which was the school of so many of the best artists of the time, he seems to have been slow to seek an independent career. The father's title *Ghirlandaio*, the garland-maker, was due to his distinction as a maker of the jeweled garlands which the fine ladies of Florence were in the habit of wearing, and not, as Vasari supposed, to his invention of them, for they had been the subject of sumptuary laws in the earliest and heroic days of the Republic. His being singled out for this title of distinction may be taken as proof of his supremacy in that branch of art, the more as it clung to his descendants, unlike the generality of those epithets. The qualities of the son are such as to show that he must have had early training in drawing and possibly in gold-work; for the facility and certainty of touch which are his distinguishing traits could not have been acquired late in life. We hear that he was put in his father's shop in boyhood, but that to his trade he preferred catching the likenesses of passers-by and customers, so that at length his father put him to the study of painting under Master Alessio Baldovinetti, where he must have progressed slowly, but where he acquired that solid and certain method which more than any other art-quality distinguishes him amongst his fellows of the Renaissance. At the age of thirty-one he is described by his father, in an income-return preserved in

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Gaye, as "without any fixed place of abode," which probably means that he had not yet set up a *bottega* of his own, nor was he recognized as a master until after he had executed the frescos in the church of the Ognissanti in 1480.

His pictures in the Vespucci Chapel of the Ognissanti in Florence are destroyed, but there are others in the church which have been protected, and of which the St. Jerome, engraved by Mr. Cole, is an excellent example, though not a work of great pretension like the frescos in Sta. Maria Novella in the same city. The "Last Supper" in the refectory of the Ognissanti is considered the earliest composition we have by him. It is in the traditional form of the subject, the long table with two wings and with Christ in the middle, the grouping varied more than in the conventional representations by prior artists. A group on the left seems to be eagerly listening to the Saviour's words, and Peter points to Judas as if he would say: "Behold the villain who shall be our ruin!" There is an immaturity in the work as compared with the Sta. Maria Novella frescos which does not appear in the simpler subject of the St. Jerome, possibly painted afterward; but even the latter shows the hardness of a severe and painstaking student, and the precise execution of a methodical painter, rather than the power of a great master. It is, considering the epoch, a singularly elaborate work, and the accessories are rendered with a fidelity which is quite unique. Minute detail in design we have in earlier painters, especially in Mantegna and Gentile da Fabriano, though not in fresco; but here the effort for realistic fidelity is simply for the sake of detail, not of his own designing, and strikes one as somewhat mechanical and unfeeling. The firmness of hand is there, but the mastery of the larger qualities of art is not. About this time, and probably immediately after the Ognissanti frescos, he was commissioned to paint the story of S. Paolino in Sta. Croce, as well as a series of subjects in the Sala dell' Orologio of the Palazzo Vecchio; and other work for the Republic seems rapidly to have increased his reputation, so that he was sent for by the pope, Sixtus IV., to assist in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. Before going to Rome, however, he painted at S. Gemignano in the oratory of S. Giovanni. The visit to Rome must have been about 1484, but how long it lasted, and whether it was a single visit or was repeated, is not ascertained. As, however, he seems, from the record of the work on the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, to have drawn pay for every year from 1483

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to 1485, inclusive, he could hardly have been away continuously for a year; and as in that interval he painted a second fresco for the Sistine, now destroyed, and decorated a chapel for the Tornabuoni family in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, also destroyed, he probably made various visits as the state of the work he happened to be engaged on permitted. The frescos in Rome having been completed, as we must conclude, about 1484, he next undertook the decoration of the chapel of Sta. Fina at S. Gemignano, in which, as probably in most or all of his painting of this period, he employed the services of his brother-in-law, Sebastiano Mainardi, whose hand the discrimination of Cavalcaselle detects through the most important passages of it. Without some such coöperation it would indeed have been impossible for any painter to have executed so many important works as Ghirlandaio crowded into his short life. He repeated in S. Marco of Florence the subject of his "Last Supper" in the Ognissanti, of which Cavalcaselle says:

> Less favorable in its impression on the spectator is the "Last Supper" in the convent of S. Marco at Florence, where Ghirlandaio, repeating the arrangement carried out at Ognissanti, gives evidence of his progress in the production of relief, but less happily renders animation and movement. Yet the dim tone and roughness of surface caused by time and damp may have a part in diminishing the sympathy that might otherwise be felt for this work.

I cannot in all cases accept so readily the esthetic judgments of Cavalcaselle as his technical opinions, but in general it can hardly be admitted that the damages of time can affect our sympathy with a work of art; and I am not disposed to accept with less reserve the great expert's estimate of the relative importance of the Sassetti Chapel frescos. The condition, however, in which they are now seen, much covered with dust and otherwise obscured, may make my judgment less favorable than it might be if the conditions for their study were as satisfactory as is the case in the choir of Sta. Maria Novella. The former work has been until lately made difficult of access by the restorations in progress in the church of the Santissima Trinità. Of these subjects Cavalcaselle says:

> Seen from the necessary distance, the Sassetti Chapel not only shows a complete unity of decoration, but charms beyond all other works hitherto carried out by Ghirlandaio, because, in addition to the known features of his style, a greater harmony of color is apparent, and because the just value of tones in contrast creates an impression almost equal to that produced in the same sense by the frescos of Masaccio. A sur-

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prising reality is represented, with the breadth and grandeur attained by Masaccio and Raphael, in the portrait of Sassetti, whose form and bald head are not more finely given than those of his wife [*sic*]. The treatment in the former is such that Ghirlandaio appears to surpass himself in the handling of the impasto, and disdains the usual minuteness of stippling. The simple flow of a lake-red drapery of solid stuff, the manly frame and fleshy hands, are nature itself.

The value of the chapel thus considered as an integral work in which the distinct compositions are only parts must be estimated differently from that of the compositions themselves. The intellectual and artistic power of the man is shown to much greater advantage in a work of this complexity carried out successfully than it could be in an individual picture, no matter how remarkable. In this, which may be considered a different type of genius from the simply artistic type as we have seen it in Bellini or Masaccio, there is something of the architect, and Ghirlandaio has shown the same quality in a similar combination in the Palazzo Pubblico of Florence, of which Cavalcaselle says: "Florentine artists have seldom been more happy in laying out architectural space than Ghirlandaio in this instance—the whole is distributed with such excellence of proportion, adorned with such taste, and realized with such a successful application of perspective, that nothing remains to be desired." But the estimate of the artist as a painter of a story, and as a decorator and architectural composer, must not be confounded. In the latter capacity he may be classed with Giotto perhaps, in the class at least, if not in the rank; but in the former I cannot agree with some of the critics who have studied Ghirlandaio.

The execution of this great work was followed by the commission to paint the choir of Sta. Maria Novella, by his treatment of which he will probably be finally judged as a painter. The choir had been painted by Orcagna, but the rain filtering in from the roof had so damaged the frescos that "many enlightened citizens of Florence desired either to have these interesting works renewed or to see the choir adorned anew by some painter worthy of the task. But the family of the Ricci, who had a proprietary right in this part of the church, which was considered as their chapel, were not only unwilling to incur the cost themselves, but even refused to allow others to do it for them, fearing lest their coats of arms and shields should be removed and their hereditary claims to the choir (the patronage of it, as Vasari puts it, *i. e.*, the nomination of the attendant priests) should be subsequently disputed." The difficulty

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was finally adjusted by the Tornabuoni, who promised the Ricci that their arms should be put in the most honorable part of the choir, and that they should be recompensed in some other way. And to this effect a "contract and instrument very rigorous," as Vasari has it, was drawn up, by which Giovanni Tornabuoni engaged Ghirlandaio to paint the chapel anew, "with the same stories which had been there before," and Tornabuoni was to pay 1000 golden florins (not 1200, as is said by Vasari), and in case of their giving complete satisfaction the painter was to receive a bonus of 200 more. The work was done in four years, according again to the historian; but he has given the date of finishing in place of that of commencing,—that of the year after he had painted the fresco at the Sistine Chapel, 1485,—and Vasari says that he never stopped till the work was complete. Tornabuoni seems to have been a slippery customer; for he not only, while avowing his complete satisfaction with the decoration of the church, begged to be released from the payment of the bonus (which Ghirlandaio, "who esteemed glory and honor above riches," readily forgave), but he evaded his promise to the Ricci, putting their arms in an honorable place, it is true, for they were painted on the frontispiece of the tabernacle of the sacrament, but under an arch and in an obscure position and light, while he had his own arms and those of other branches of his family put on the pilasters and in other most prominent positions. Vasari proceeds, "And the fine part of the affair was on the opening of the chapel, because the Ricci, seeking with much clamor their arms and not finding them, went to the magistrate of the Eight with the contract. Whereupon the Tornabuoni showed that they had been placed in the most evident and honorable place in the chapel, and although the others exclaimed that they could not be seen, it was said to them that they were in the wrong, and that the arms having been put in so honorable a place as the neighborhood of the most holy Sacrament they ought to be satisfied; and so it was settled by that magistrate that the matter must stand as it does at present." It is almost impossible to determine the amount of credit to be given respectively to Ghirlandaio and to his brother David and his brother-in-law Mainardi,[1] for they worked in such complete harmony and persistency that Domenico may almost be said never to have been alone in his work. Besides these his many

[1] The work of his assistant is very visible in the upper courses; indeed, he seems to have almost reserved his own for the first course. C. F. MURRAY.

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pupils contributed to swell the immense amount of painting which is credited to him by the chroniclers, but of which, of course, the greatest part was done by his assistants, the cartoons being probably his own in all cases, as was the practice in the schools. His activity seems to have abated in the last years of his existence, the actual date of his death being March 25 (1493), 1494.[1]

Ghirlandaio does not appear to have painted after 1491, and Vasari says that he devoted his time in the following years to mosaic. He was to have painted an altarpiece for the Franciscans of Falco, but it was done by Filippino; and Vasari tells also of a "Visitation," now in the Louvre, which was originally ordered for the church of Cestello, having been left unfinished. He went to Siena and Pisa for the mosaic work, but the story of Vasari that he was to have 20,000 ducats from Lorenzo de' Medici appears to be a fiction, for the documents show that not Lorenzo but Massaino di Goro Massaini was the patron who commissioned the work, and for a much smaller sum than that mentioned, but how much Milanesi does not inform us. That he went to Pisa at that time is evident, and that he was ill there; for Tornabuoni sent him a hundred florins on account of his being ill and in need. There is no clear evidence of his having done anything after 1491. A single mosaic known to be his is that over the north side door of the Duomo of Florence, and the probability is that in the mosaics which were executed under his influence the work was really done by his brother David, who is ascertained to have worked on the Duomo of Orvieto and that of Siena in 1492–93. Ghirlandaio is said never to have employed oils, but many pictures were sent out from his *bottega* painted in tempera, a process which suited far better the system of procedure to which he in common with the masters of his time adhered, namely, that of preparing a cartoon and then passing it over to the

1 NOTE FROM MILANESI: In the register of the deceased brothers of the Company of St. Paul there is this mention of him: "Domenico, son of Thomas, son of Corrado Bigordi, painter, called the Grillandaio, died Saturday morning, the 11th of January, 1493, of pestilential fever, according to the report, because he died in four days; and those who had charge of the pestilence desired that the dead body should not be visited and that it should not be buried in the daytime. They buried him Saturday night between twenty-four [*i. e.*, the hour of sunset] and one o'clock; and may God forgive them. It was a great loss [or perhaps the author of the note would have said "great shame," alluding to the obscure burial without the honors due to the dead, the words employed being *grandissimo danno*], because he was a man highly esteemed for all his qualities, and there was great general mourning." The date 1493, by the change of the beginning of the year from the 25th of March to the 1st of January which took place in 1750, becomes 1494. This change has, of course, nothing to do with the change of style from Greek to Gregorian of twelve days, commonly known as the change from old to new style.

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assistants to be traced and painted according to established practice, all the steps being prescribed, the qualities of execution being the same with all the pupils, and the color being almost conventional with all the men of the time. These various processes are laid down in the book of Cennini, who describes them as the settled practice of "good fresco" and tempera from the time of Giotto. Of the tempera pictures from the *bottega* of Ghirlandaio, that which is the most easily to be seen and studied, and is at the same time considered by the admirers of Ghirlandaio the best,[1] is the "Adoration of the Magi" at the Lying-in Asylum of Florence known as the "Innocenti," which is not only far more brilliant in color than any other of the frescos of the school, but seems to be more directly the production of the master himself. He is reported to have said to his assistants that they were to refuse no commission, not even for the hoops by which the women carried their baskets (*cerchi da paniere di donne*)—an expression which Crowe, who is responsible for the English of the English edition of Cavalcaselle, translates "lady's petticoat panniers," not knowing that the practice of wearing hoops under the petticoats was centuries later than Ghirlandaio, and not stopping to reflect that it would have been absurd to ornament with painting hoops so worn even if they had been in fashion. This detail must not be taken to indicate avarice, but good nature and the desire to satisfy all demands on his art; for other incidents show that Ghirlandaio was not avaricious, as in his release of Tornabuoni from the bonus for the work at Sta. Maria Novella. Nor was he more inclined to exalt himself. He is reported by Vasari to have said to his brother David that he desired him to take charge of all the business details, so that he himself might be left free to devote himself to his work; "for now that I have begun to understand the manner of this art it vexes me that I cannot be commissioned to paint the entire circuit of the walls of Florence"—notwithstanding which we know that David was one of his most active assistants in the actual painting.

In estimating the art of Ghirlandaio, I feel a certain diffidence in putting my opinion beside those of Burton and Cavalcaselle, the latter of whom considers him the greatest of the painters of the fifteenth century.[2] If we take art simply from the side of its technical

[1] I prefer the Academy Presepio myself, and a Madonna and Saints in the Accademia. C. F. MURRAY.

[2] You are certainly right in this estimate, and Cavalcaselle wrong. Ruskin also touches the weak side of Ghirlandaio. C. F. MURRAY.

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qualities, the management of the broad surfaces of fresco, and the facility of composition involved in the decoration of the chapels in Florence, with the precision of execution and certainty of his drawing, such an estimate of his relative rank as that of Cavalcaselle might be accepted without much hesitation, for as a composer of great stories, as the sacred subjects were then called, he had no superior between Giotto and Raphael. But when Cavalcaselle says, "The spectator's memory involuntarily reverts to the false and capricious extravagance of Filippino, the overcharged richness of Botticelli," and contrasts their efforts with "the purity exhibited here by Ghirlandaio," I am obliged to dissent from the standard of art implied, and I quote the remainder of the sentence to demonstrate what I consider the mistaken estimate of the Italian critic: "The whole is distributed with such excellence of proportion, adorned with such taste, and realized with such a successful application of linear perspective, that nothing remains to be desired." All this being admitted proves only that Ghirlandaio was a great master, perhaps a greater master of the learned side of the art of painting—of its academical qualities, for which a scientific acumen is indispensable—than were Filippino and Botticelli; but in the true passion of art, in that which lies beyond and behind technique and a simply correct eye, both those painters were superior to him, in common with many others of the long line from Giotto to Michelangelo. He had profited well by all the art before him and all that was being done around him, and his system, cold, intellectual, and correct, merits in the sense in which it can be applied to such work the epithet of masterly; but he had not the unexpected discoveries, the enchanting underthoughts, the inspiring imaginative felicities of the others, and he was not in the true sense of the word an imaginative painter, nor does his power touch the heart any more than his color the musical sense. His portraiture is not so affectionate or complete as that of Gozzoli, nor has he the tender expression of Mantegna; his work is rather composition than invention, great and harmonious and impressive in line and the distribution of masses, but simply learned.[1]

The comparison of his "Death of S. Francis" in the Sassetti Chapel with that of Giotto in Sta. Croce will illustrate what I mean more clearly than can any abstract comparisons. It will do so the better from the fact that Ghirlandaio's subject is borrowed in the

[1] His figures taken singly will rarely bear examination. C. F. MURRAY.

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main from Giotto. The general distribution of the groups and of most of the figures is the same, and the composition is one of the noblest of the master in both cases. But in that of the pioneer of modern art there is a dramatic concentration, an imaginative unity which is wholly lacking in the later work. The additions are almost without exception variations which weaken the impression. In Giotto the soul of the saint is seen carried away into the blue heavens above, and the only one of the spectators who is not absorbed in the pathetic and awe-inspiring death-scene of their master is one who has his spiritual vision open to see the apotheosis; all the others are intent on the face of the saint—one closely watching the face with a look of rapture in sympathy with the serenity of the dead, and three behind him awe-struck apparently by the glory; one at either hand and foot kissing the stigmata in them, while the abbot looks at the wound in the side as if to assure himself that it was there; but all, even the stolid attendants, three at the head to read the prayer, and three at the foot to hold the cross and tapers, all are intent on the face of the saint. In the composition of Ghirlandaio the general disposition is the same; the three at the head of the couch are the same except that the central one has become a bishop or abbot, but the three at the foot are looking all ways; the friar who is watching the face of the dead regards it not with Giotto's look of rapt wonder, but approaches his head closely with an expression which it is not too much to call a grin. Yet this grin, but for a knitting of the brows, as if of pain, in the monk who holds and kisses St. Francis's left hand, is the only expression of any kind to be found in the whole picture; the abbot who in Giotto's picture is looking at the wound in the side as if he meant to see it, is a layman, who from the further side of the bed puts his hand over the body and touches its side with an action of no significance whatever, unless it be that he is supposed to be a doctor feeling if the heart still beats; Giotto's monk who kisses the right foot has become a page in the costume of Ghirlandaio's time, who stands behind the attendants at the foot of the bed, so that the feet may be seen by the spectator, and all the other assistants are disposed in various and studied attitudes, with utter disregard of the dramatic unity of the subject, but with constant study of the effect of the lines of the composition. While in the earlier picture the figures are all those of ecclesiastics, in that of Ghirlandaio half, nearly, are laymen, introduced probably to allow the painter to

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flatter his patrons by immortalizing their portraits. Giotto's open sky and its ecstatic vision of the flying soul and its attendant angels has given place to an elaborate architectural background of Renaissance structure. Not only is the composition in all its main features borrowed directly from Giotto (which is, however, *per se*, no fault in Ghirlandaio, for this was in accord with the recognized practice of the time), but the number of figures is the same, showing deliberate adaptation. In almost every case, however, the significance of the figure is lost—ignored so completely as to show that the dramatic insight of Giotto was thrown away on the later painter. All the greater refinements of grouping and line, all the added subtlety of naturalistic knowledge, all the higher mastery in technique are only so many more proofs that the copyist was insensible to the finest and rarest qualities of his original. Instead of the dramatic intensity of Giotto, he has given us only a masterly and refined *pose-plastique*.[1]

It is thus restricted, then, that we must accept the eulogiums of the contemporaries of Ghirlandaio and of his modern admirers, that as master of the academic qualities of the art of painting he surpassed all his predecessors and contemporaries, and even his successors, until Raphael. He was the master of Michelangelo; but I am disposed to doubt if he exerted any great amount of influence on his development, and, if he did, whether it was not merely to strengthen the scientific element already in excess in the character of his pupil. In all that is spontaneous, incommunicable, inexplicable in art; in what is the gift of the good fairy at birth, and which education may stifle or foster but cannot impart, Ghirlandaio was the inferior of many others in that greatest of all epochs of painting.

1 The engraving of this subject by Mr. Cole in "The Century" for January, 1889, is so subtle even in its fidelity to the apparently rude execution of Giotto that it may be studied with the same confidence as the original. There is not a shade of expression on the faces of the actors in the scene which is not rendered with absolute truth. The rigidity of the draperies, the insistence on the expression in some of the faces of the attendants, and the naïveté of the effect of the whole, are rendered with unswerving conscience. Those who wish to follow out the parallel I have drawn between the identical motive in the hands of the greatest masters in their respective veins in the development of Italian art can do so by a comparison with the photograph of Ghirlandaio's St. Francis, by Alinari of Florence, which shows the composition in the chapel of Sta. Maria Novella much more clearly than it can be seen in the original. W. J. S.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE fresco of "St. Jerome in his Cell Writing" is to be found on the left wall of the nave of the church of the Ognissanti at Florence. It measures 3 feet 5 inches wide by 4 feet 11 inches high. This does not include a portion of a painted fluted pilaster bordering the left of the fresco, nor a painted beam inclosing it from above. Originally there were two fluted pilasters inclosing either side, united above by a semicircular arch, but during some changes in the church the right pilaster was painted out, together with a portion of the left and the arch above. St. Jerome, as one of the four Latin fathers of the Church, is usually accompanied in pictures by St. Augustine, and accordingly we see that saint, represented by Botticelli, on the opposite wall of the nave, likewise clipped down to correspond to that of St. Jerome. As a doctor of the Church, St. Jerome is here seen composing and meditating. He gazes at you abstractedly, and his whole bearing is dignified and severe. The various objects of still life surrounding him are rendered with minuteness and exactitude. The date MCCCCLXXX is inscribed on the grained wood of the writing-desk behind the scissors, and shows the artist to have been thirty-one years old when he painted the work. It is harmonious and soft in coloring. The curtain back of the saint is green, of a delightful, fresh, cool tint. His robe is red, of a soft, gray, crimson tone. His cardinal's hat above him on the shelf is of the same tone. The table-cloth is a fine bit of color composed of various tints, the lower broad stripe with the fringe being of a soft, low tone of red; the next blue, followed by a yellow; then the broad stripe of green with embroidered figures of old-gold color, the stripe above this being the same as that below with cordage of old gold. The whole is delightfully blended together in the most harmonious manner conceivable. The wood-work is of a light yellowish brown, as though it might be pine, toned by age; against this the cover of the book, which is a bright fresh green, is relieved charmingly.

T. C.

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Chapter XXVI

LORENZO DI CREDI

(Born 1459?, died 1537)

The life of Lorenzo di Credi is one of the least interesting as biography, and perhaps the most satisfactory as existence, of those older masters of whom we have the record. He was the son of a goldsmith. As we have seen, the art of the goldsmith was often the first school of the painter, and Lorenzo is said to have excelled in the paternal occupation, studying drawing, meanwhile, in the Brancacci Chapel, where the frescos of Masaccio brought together all the rising Florentine painters of the time. On his father's death he passed into the workshop of Verrocchio, and in a tax-paper given in by his mother in 1480–81 he is described as "employed in painting" at a salary of twelve florins a year. He was, therefore, then of age, and his yearly salary would have been in our money, supposing it to be of gold florins, less than the wages for one month of a journeyman bronze-worker of to-day. He was simply a good workman, following the conventions of the school and the manner and methods of his masters, for he followed, at times, more than one. In the studio of Verrocchio he caught what of inspiration his mechanical nature allowed him to absorb from the greater men with whom he was in constant and friendly contact, Leonardo and Perugino, his fellow-pupils, and Ghirlandaio, and the Pollaiuoli, and probably many others of the time. He seems to have remained with Verrocchio until the death of the latter in 1488, and so great was the confidence of his master in his technical abilities that he made him his executor, and, as was shown in the sketch of Verrocchio, designated him as the artist who should complete his Colleoni, the casting of which cost its

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author his life. He was also made the heir of all Verrocchio's art remains at Venice and Florence.

Lorenzo's work is always of a religious character, and if he had been drawn away by the fashion for the classical and licentious subjects which the loose morals and manners of the time made attractive, he burned the pictures in the *auto da fe* of Savonarola,[1] as he had enrolled himself with the *piagnoni*. He painted mainly in oil and on wood, which latter detail makes it evident that his manner was only an advance on the usual one of the chief painters before him, but with more importance, relatively, given to the after-painting and still working on the gesso ground. He executed many altarpieces, and Cavalcaselle puts only one fresco in the list of his known work, and this on a pilaster in Or San Michele. On the death of Verrocchio he succeeded to much of his authority in the craft, and was called in council for the deliberations on the completion of the Duomo of Florence, on the placing of the David of Michelangelo, on the pricing of the mosaics of Monte and Gherardo, and had Perugino as one of his colleagues in these deliberations; and he was called in as one of the arbiters in the dispute between the convent of San Marco and Bernardo del Bianco for the price of the picture painted to the order of the latter, the "Vision of San Bernardo," as was mentioned in the life of Fra Bartolommeo. In 1514 he was chosen to appraise the work of Ghirlandaio in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, and in 1517 a statue of Bandinelli. These instances of the confidence felt in him by such different characters, ranging from the brutal Bandinelli to the prior of San Marco, show the moral solidity of the man. He does not appear to have ever been drawn away from Florence, as were most of the clever painters of the day, but this is probably mainly due to the limitations which he seems to have put on his talent, confining himself to easel-work, which could always be done in his *bottega*, and sent where wanted. In the Archivio Storico dell' Arte there is a letter which accompanied the *envoi* of a picture of Lorenzo's to the Duchess of Mantua, then the most distinguished of collectors of works of art.[2] He was in the city of Florence during the siege of 1527, and retired to Sta. Maria Nuova on a pension in 1531, and died there in 1537.

He is an excellent example of the results of good training on mere talent in the production of works of permanent value, and of

[1] A "Venus" still exists in the magazine of the Uffizi. C. F. MURRAY. [2] Vol. 7, No. VII., p. 278.

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such character as often to be mistaken for those of his greater masters. At one time his pictures were confounded with those of Leonardo, and at others he seemed to be inspired by Perugino. Vasari says that it was impossible to distinguish Lorenzo's copies of the drawings of Leonardo from the originals, and the influence of Leonardo was the strongest of all that bore on him. His method of execution was that of Da Vinci, and is carried to the extreme of elaboration, so as to be metallic in its finish at times. As he grew older the manner hardened into a certain stiffness, as is always the case with the mechanical painters in whom method serves when inspiration or enthusiasm is gone. Cavalcaselle, whose judgment of the art of this epoch is always discriminating and appreciative, even if one must differ from him occasionally in his estimation of the relative position of painters, considers the finest of the altarpieces of Lorenzo to be that of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the cathedral of Pistoia. There are pictures by him in the galleries of the Uffizi, Pitti, and Accademia at Florence, and in the National Gallery, the Louvre, the galleries of Berlin, Munich, etc.; so that he is more generally represented by good examples of his work than are most of his contemporaries.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE portrait of Verrocchio by Lorenzo di Credi is painted in oil on wood upon a gesso ground, and measures 23½ inches high by 17¾ inches wide. Lorenzo di Credi was the beloved pupil of Verrocchio, and was faithful to his master in all things. The portrait is evidently a work of love. It is finished with exceeding care, smoothness, and cleanness. He is said by Vasari to have set his palette with numerous and most careful gradations of tints, and to have used a separate brush for each, which might account for the clearness of his colors. Time, which softens the touch of the brush in all paintings, has rendered invisible every trace of the brush in this portrait, and has no doubt contributed to its present sleek appearance. But what a likeness it is! How true to nature! Just as when I knew him!—a solid man of moral force and character, warm and energetic, nothing of the "dolce far niente" about him, but a type of the alacrity that must have characterized the cinque-cento, of which he was the moving and central spirit. Here we see the master of Leonardo da Vinci. It shows him in his prime about the time he left his native city, Florence, for Venice, to cast his famous equestrian statue of Bartolommeo da Bergamo, in bronze. No doubt his loving pupil, whom he left in full charge of all his affairs, insisted upon taking his likeness before he departed. We catch a glimpse, through the window of his workshop by which he sits, of the environs of his native city,—quite characteristic: the blue sky, the

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Tuscan hills, the valley of the Arno, and the rich summer foliage. The simple window is identical with what we now see. The interior forming the background is of a brownish-gray color, and suggests a wall whitewashed that tone. The dress is black of a warm, soft tint, and the skull-cap also, surmounting his rich dark locks. The complexion is of a warm olive tint, and the eye is brown. It is related of Verrocchio, by Vasari, that when he was considerably advanced with his equestrian statue at Venice — having completed the horse — the Seigniory, by favor of certain of the Venetian nobles, determined upon giving the execution of the figure of the general to one Vellano of Padua, but no sooner had Verrocchio heard of this decision than he broke the head and legs of the horse and returned in anger to Florence without saying a word. His departure being told to the Seigniory, they caused him to understand that he should never dare again to enter Venice, for if he did so they would take off his head. To this menace the master wrote in reply that he would take care not to return, seeing that when they had once taken off his head it would be beyond their power to give him another; nor could they ever get as good a one put on the horse whose head he had broken as he would have made for it. Notwithstanding this reply, which did not displease those rulers, he was afterward induced to return to Venice, when his appointments were doubled. He then restored his first model, and cast it in bronze, but did not entirely finish it, for, having taken cold, when he had exposed himself to too much fatigue and heat in casting the work, he died in Venice, after a few days' illness, at the age of fifty-six years.

T. C.

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Chapter XXVII

PERUGINO (PIETRO VANNUCCI)

(Born 1446, died 1523)

Vasari opens his life of Perugino with one of the exaggerations of which he was so fond, exaggerations which are so effective in biography, making genius come from the depths of poverty and social insignificance, in order to exalt its achievements. He makes him a native of Perugia, "the son of a poor individual of Castello della Pieve, named Christofano, who [the future painter] at baptism was called Pietro, and, reared in misery and want, was given by the father to a painter of Perugia as a shop-boy," and again, "who, going from extreme misfortune in Perugia to Florence, desiring by means of his abilities to arrive at distinction, continued for many months to sleep in a box, not having any other bed, turned night into day, and with the greatest fervor devoted himself continually to his profession, and, having so formed the habit, knew no other pleasure than to weary himself in that art and paint incessantly." The facts are, however, that his father was a respectable citizen of Perugia, the little town of Castello della Pieve being an appendage of that city, and the Vannucci family having been inscribed on the roll of citizenship as early as 1427; and though his native town had a painter of its own whose name is preserved by a picture still in existence as Francesco, of whom nothing more is known, Pietro was sent to Perugia to learn painting, which goes to disprove the fable of his having been given away from poverty to a painter of Perugia for want of a nearer opportunity. The usual course seems to have been taken with the boy, and he was apprenticed to a painter whose name is not preserved, but of whom Vasari says that, though not very clever in

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the craft, he held in great veneration both the art and those who excelled in it. "Nor did he ever talk of other things with Pietro than how much profit and honor were brought by painting to those who did well in it, and, recounting the prizes won by ancients and moderns, stimulated Pietro in the study of it." The general opinion is that the first master of Perugino was Benedetto Buonfigli, who though not a great was an able painter.

That Perugino could have passed the period of his life in which the habit of work is definitely formed under the instruction of a man of no mastery of the art is impossible. The history of art teaches us that it is better for the pupil to have a master who has a firm and sound style and method of working without great personal qualities, which are less influential in forming the art of the pupil than is a correct technique. The method of Perugino is too sound, and his training evidently too scholarly, to have been left to the teaching of a painter who had no distinct excellence as a master, and Murray, in opposition to Cavalcaselle, considers Fiorenzo di Lorenzo to be by the similarity of his work the indicated teacher of Perugino. Cavalcaselle considers Buonfigli to have been the master, but, as Murray remarks, the style of Buonfigli has nothing in common with Perugino's, Fiorenzo's everything. Piero della Francesca was later his associate, and may have been of great advantage to him in teaching him the best manner of using oil-color, in which he was almost the earliest complete master in the Tuscan schools. That he was under the instruction of Verrocchio does not seem doubtful, and the fact that nothing of the style of that great master should appear in Perugino to proclaim the relationship is not in the least strange, for the temper of the master was of that severely scientific character which deals in principles rather than in details of manner. It had not that fascination of individual quality which so bewilders and misleads the pupil, and in the cases of Giotto, Mantegna, Botticelli, Da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Titian made imitators rather than scholars of their pupils; and the fact that Da Vinci and Lorenzo di Credi, so different from the master and from each other, were both pupils of Verrocchio makes it certain that Perugino, too, might have been his pupil without being his mimic, and destroys the argument drawn from the want of similarity in style. Besides, the testimony of Vasari, in the lives both of Verrocchio and of Perugino, is too positive to be put aside among the vague assertions which we have too often the right to complain

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of in his biographies. He seems first to have worked a while with Luca Signorelli under, or rather in company with, Piero della Francesca at Arezzo [M. Jordan; v. "Doehme's Lives,"]; and Vasari mentions two frescos (now perished) at that place, which he attributes to Perugino when he was working with Piero. In the studio of Verrocchio he had the influence of the two most remarkable minds of the epoch in so far as the intellect of that time is shown in its art, that of his master and of his fellow-pupil Da Vinci. The scientific temper of the master, and his severity in drawing and painting, with his great insight into the facts of nature, a gift not so universal then as we generally suppose, would be seconded by the equally scientific temper of the fellow-pupil and the still more direct way of seeing nature of which Da Vinci was the first example. The curiously precise and naturalistic drawing of Verrocchio and his firm and simple execution united with the studies of Da Vinci into the methods of painting and the uses of mediums to develop in Perugino the study of landscape and the facile and masterly use of oil-color, both of which he carried to an excellence not hitherto known. Cavalcaselle says justly:

> For chemical researches he could not find a better place than Verrocchio's shop. He would be the companion of Leonardo, to whom the science of art owes its chief progress, and to whom the perfection of the innovating system of mediums at Florence is due. Both might labor simultaneously to fathom the secrets of colors and mediums, the one with the precision of a trained mathematician, the other with the feeling of a colorist. Both would necessarily go deep into the *technica*, seeking and searching like the Van Eycks and applying the results according to the powers with which nature had endowed them. It would thus happen that Leonardo would add to the imperfect method of Piero della Francesca the atmosphere in which it was wanting, and ascend to the culminating point of his career in the production of the Mona Lisa, whilst Perugino would arrive at a height almost equally surprising in the Madonna of the Certosa.

This combination of educational influences made of Perugino such a master of the technical qualities of painting that the training which he in turn gave his pupils was probably the best that at any time the Renaissance imparted, and the distinction of being the master of Raphael is in the general estimation, even of to-day, greater than any which is accorded his own work. There are no exact parallels to be found in the history of art; but a near approach to one will be seen in the relations between Bellini and Titian in the Venetian school, and Perugino and Raphael in the Umbrian. Perugino, having begun his training with those

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admirable training processes of fresco and tempera, which are to painting what pen drawing is to design, took up oil painting with a certainty of hand and a habit of precision which the later oil painters lost, and with those qualities the later painters lost also the solidity of color which is one of the merits of Perugino and the earlier pictures of Raphael. When we speak of the color of the Umbrian or of the Florentine school (if indeed to the general student of art the two and all their branches, including the Sienese, should not be regarded as one when taken in distinction to the Venetian), we consider this quality from a different point of view from that in which we look at Titian and Giorgione. The position which we accord to Perugino as colorist does not bring him into the region of the true colorists, but assigns to him a vividness of color and a naturalness which we do not find in the earlier men or in the majority of his school. His method of painting in oil as described by Cavalcaselle is the opposite of that which has been followed by the great Venetians[1] and recognized as the true one by subsequent students of the Italian methods. We do not judge the Venetian and the Tuscan schools by the same standard. The distinction between the various schools of design, Sienese, Umbrian, Florentine, Lombard, etc., are as nothing when put by the side of the wide distance

[1] Perugino prepared flesh with a warm, brown tone, which he worked into rotundity by successive strata, leaving the high lights for the close. [I am quoting the English version of Cavalcaselle, which owes its bungling and inexpressive manner of speech perhaps to bad translation, of which it would be hard to find the equal for inaccurate use of technical terms of painting.] These strata were such that each should be lighter in color, yet fuller in body than the last, and therefore the final and most substantial one was the high light which occupied the least space in the picture. Care was taken in laying the second not to lose all trace of the first, but to let its value appear through the superposed color. This, in a few words, was the technique of the Van Eycks. It created flesh-tints, merging from thin to full body in proportion as the parts fell out of shadow, receiving light from without, and transparency from within. The consequence was a somewhat unbroken surface with insufficient half-tone; but this disadvantage was corrected, *ex. gr.* in the Madonna of the Vatican, by strengthening the darkest spots with a final scumble which remained higher on the panel than the rest; and the result was a clear and lucid enamel betraying less of the secrets of manipulation than the painting of the earlier innovators. To complete a picture by these means was a matter of calculation and certainty of hand, an undertaking in which a false step involved absolute failure. But the method was perfectly familiar to Perugino, and was invariably used during his transition from this period to the more advanced one in which he carried out the altarpiece of the National Gallery. In draperies, the processes varied. All cold mixtures were put in first with warm substrata, covered over like the flesh-tints, and glazed. Vice versa, warm or glowing colors were rubbed on with cold undertones; and this method was followed with unwavering consistency even in changing hues. Reds and lake-reds alone were sometimes laid on above cool preparations in half body with high surface lights and shadows, and glazed; sometimes the lights were furnished by the undertone. In general all colors except lake-reds were opaque and of solid impasto, receiving light from without, with shadows superposed and occasional hatching in the projections. The brightest shades were invariably chosen for the foreground, changing hues for the middle distance.

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of motive which separates the Venetian school, that of Bellini, from that of Perugino, in their later development especially.

Perugino seems to have led a wandering life, looking for work wherever it was to be found, painting in Siena, Florence, Cerqueto, Arezzo, and wherever he might be called. In 1484 he went to Rome, at the call of the pope to assist in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. He has been credited with the three frescos of the "Delivery of the Keys," "Moses and Zipporah," and the "Baptism of Christ," but it is not certain that the last two are either of them his, and the Moses has been equally credited to Signorelli and to Botticelli.[1] He also painted the altar end of the chapel with three subjects, a kneeling portrait of Sixtus, a "Nativity," and a "Finding of Moses"; but these were destroyed to make a space for the "Last Judgment" of Michelangelo. The "Delivery of the Keys" is a work which perhaps may be considered the gage of Perugino's force as a wall-painter, and is accepted as one of his best works. It preserves all the formality of composition which distinguishes the purely religious schools down to Raphael, and is one of the most striking examples of it. The apostles form a procession across the picture, Christ at the left of the center giving the keys to Peter, who kneels to receive them at the right; behind Christ are six apostles in a line, five ranging behind Peter on the other hand, with a few persons to fill out the space: all carefully studied and gracefully posed, but, to my mind, with much less art, using the word in its finer sense, than in the companion subjects by his rivals. Less majestic in the arrangement of his composition than Ghirlandaio and Signorelli, and less imaginative in the conception of the theme than Botticelli, there is still a grace in his artificiality which prophesies Raphael and recalls faintly Masaccio. He seems to have been fond of perspective, and the background of the "Delivery of the Keys" is formed by an octagonal temple of the type of the Baptistery at Florence, flanked on each side by a triumphal arch apparently suggested by that of Septimius Severus at Rome. The perspective is not by any means clear, but shows knowledge of the rules, if little inventiveness. The naturalness of which we give him credit must not be mistaken for dramatic quality, of which he had none, but is referable to the delineation of the individual figures, which are well

[1] The fact that the critics attribute the "Moses and Zipporah" to Signorelli, to Perugino working with his pupil Pinturicchio, and to Botticelli, shows how little difference there can be to the common eye between the various schools of central Italy, all developments from Giotto's principles. W. J. S.

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posed, carefully studied, and always graceful even to the folds of their drapery. The "Delivery of the Keys" is the type of the spectacular composition, and there is in it no hint of a community of action. The "Pietà" of the Pitti Gallery is, again, the type of the Peruginesque composition for altarpieces, of which it is considered his most successful work. Without avoiding the *pose-plastique*, from which few of the painters of this epoch are free, he has grouped the characters with entire subordination to the central idea. The dead body of Christ is supported in a half-sitting position on a heap of stones arranged as a seat, with the legs extended, Joseph of Arimathea holding the torso in a nearly erect attitude, while the Magdalene holds the head up, and the Virgin, looking earnestly into Christ's face, supports the left arm, the right hanging free so as to express the supineness of death before the *rigor mortis* has set in, and to show the hole in the hand. A young man holds the corners of the white cloth on which the body rests. He is placed at the feet, looking into the face of the Saviour, while a second line is formed by the subordinate characters of Mary Cleopas and Mary Salomé, with another woman; behind Joseph is an apostle in an attitude of grief, and at the extreme right is a group of three men, two of whom are apostles, one holding the nails of the crucifixion for the third to see. The space is filled gracefully, and if the figures, with one or two exceptions, betray consciousness of the posed model, the composition, on the whole, is one of the most facile and pleasing of its kind in the work of the Preraphaelitic period. The landscape is elaborate and full of feeling for air and sunshine. This picture seems to me the acme of Perugino's attainment.

Perugino was of an avaricious temper, and the later phases of his art show more desire to get over his canvas than to develop his art. He was called to Orvieto in 1489 to finish the chapel which Fra Angelico had abandoned, and seems to have coquetted for several years with the Chapter, and, having made an offer to paint the whole chapel for 1500 ducats, the lime, gold, ultramarine, and scaffoldings being provided, he accepted one to paint the ceilings for 200, took the earnest-money, 10 gold pieces, and went his way never to put his foot again on the pavements of Orvieto, though the Chapter continued for years to repeat their call. Vasari says of him that he was "a person of little religion and who could not be persuaded of the immortality of the soul, even with words appropriate to his brain of porphyry [*sic*]; he most obstinately repelled

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all good ways. He put all his hope in the goods of fortune, and for money would have made any evil agreement." Mariotti, in his "Lettere Pittoriche Perugine," repels these accusations of impiety, and Délécluze, in his essay on Leonardo da Vinci, appeals to the "religious elevation of his work" to refute them. But the argument from the works has too little pertinence, when we know something of the lives of the great painters, to weigh against the general tradition which Vasari reposes on. And though in many things Vasari is not a secure authority, he is not a depreciator of Perugino, but on the contrary one of his most constant admirers, and as such would not readily accept an accusation which disparages him, the more as he insists on showing his honesty in his business transactions. He appears, however, in connection with a proved murderer before the tribunal of eight in Florence to answer to a charge of conspiracy for assault and battery—which his associate wished to carry to murder—on some person who had offended him. That he was avaricious appears from many instances, and in the latter part of his career he was content to repeat his old designs and get over his work with as little effort as possible, and to have as much done by his assistants as might be.

The great work of his life, taken all in all, is doubtless the decoration of the Sala di Cambio in the city of Perugia. It is fertile in invention, and varied in its demands on his powers, and he seems to have been stimulated by the honor done him in the commission to do his best. Raphael was then his pupil, and it is not improbable that in the mixture of the profane and the sacred which the Sala di Cambio shows, he formed the tendency to pagan illustration that chilled the inspirations of his later life. There was a universal tendency to classical design dating back to Gozzoli, but it does not in the earlier classicists fail in the severe dignity which was supposed to be the chief virtue of the ancient character. The subjects of the Sala were to a large extent chosen for the painter, and the choice shows that the popular mind was deeply affected by the work of the classicists. The planets were symbolized by the heathen gods, and the heathen virtues were mixed with the Christian, prophets with sibyls; Christ and Cato preside in turn. Perugino accepted the vein of his employers, the money-lenders of Perugia, and did his best to glorify the Exchange.

His influence over Raphael seems to have been so great that for a long time the ideals of the master apparently shaped the vision

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of the pupil. Perugino was unindividual in his types; his women have a sweet sameness which Raphael refined and perfected, but his men are weak and often effeminate; he clearly shows that the technical attainments were those which most employed his powers, and in these lay his efficiency as a teacher, as was evinced in the popularity of his school. He had more to do with the triumph of oil painting in the schools of central Italy than any other painter, and the tendency to superficial charm and to types in which prettiness rather than refined beauty is the chief quality, was, perhaps, with the smoothness of his surfaces, the cause of his popularity and of that denunciation of his art as "absurd and antiquated" by Michelangelo, which induced Perugino to bring an action for slander against his critic, in which he was of course cast with costs. In his conceptions, as distinguished from his treatment, he is scarcely more naturalistic or imaginative than the later Giotteschi; he borrows the old symbolism and renders it with a realistic treatment which makes it less mystic and pathetic than that in the earlier art, and in his sacred subjects he is more careful of his properties than of the dramatic proprieties. He was a master of all the processes then in use, and turns from fresco to oil with an equal facility, but the qualities which have more than any other distinguished him in the later centuries are those which are found in his oil pictures. His precise and solid system, which I have quoted from Cavalcaselle in a note, prevents his work from blackening, as have some of the pictures of that better colorist, Fra Bartolommeo;[1] and to the fact that this system was taught to Raphael is due our privilege of having his pictures in a purity and solidity of color of which few contemporary works can boast.

Perugino died of a pestilence which raged in Umbria in 1423,[2] and was buried hastily, like the other victims, we know not where. He outlived his great pupil, and finished his frescos at San Severo in Perugia, but he shows in this work that he had also outlived his own art. The admirable quality of his method of instruction is shown in the difficulty found in distinguishing his work from that of his pupils.

[1] I don't consider Fra Bartolommeo a better colorist. Perugino seems to me more great in this quality; the Fra constantly degenerated into blackness. C. F. MURRAY.

[2] From a petition of Giovanni Battista, the eldest of the sons of Perugino, offered 4th November, 1523, that he might be constituted guardian of his brother Michelangelo, still a minor, we gather that Pietro was dead about nine months before [Milanesi's notes].

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE picture from which the figure of the Archangel Michael is taken is the "Assumption of the Virgin," in the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence. It measures 15 feet 11½ inches high by 7 feet 10⅜ inches wide, and is painted in tempera on wood. The upper third of the picture is occupied by the half-length figure of God the Father, holding the globe in his left hand and blessing with his right, in the midst of a circular glory, and surrounded by cherubs and angels. Beneath, and filling the middle part of the picture, is the Virgin, seated on clouds within the mandorla, with hands together as in prayer, and gazing devoutly upward. She is surrounded likewise by cherubs, and on either side are angels standing upon clouds and playing upon musical instruments, while floating on either side of the lower portion of the mandorla is an angel pointing upward to the Madonna. Ineffably sweet are these heavenly creatures.

Filling the lower third of the composition are the standing figures of St. Bernard of Umberti, St. John Gualberto, St. Benedict, and the Archangel Michael. This latter seems the very embodiment of all that is sweet and gentle! What dreamy softness in the eyes! There is no suspicion in his mild countenance of the divine attributes that invest him as captain of the heavenly host and conqueror of the powers of hell; as lord of souls and conductor and guardian of the spirits of the dead; and as patron saint and prince of the church militant. He it was who cast down Lucifer from heaven. He is the destroying angel, and brought the plagues upon Egypt, slaying the first-born of every family in the land. As the Angel of Death, he is appropriately introduced here in the picture, since it was he who, according to the "Legends of the Madonna," announced to the Virgin her coming end. "When, on a certain day, her heart burnt within her with longing for her son, so that she broke out into very abundant tears, Michael stood beside her, and reverently saluted her, and told her, on the part of her son, that after three days she should depart from the flesh and reign with him for ever. . . . And on the third day the Lord appeared with a multitude of angels, and raised up Mary, and she was received, body and soul, into heaven." Michael is cited by the apostle Jude as a pattern of humility; for, in disputing with Satan over the dead body of Moses, he "durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." This phase of his character —his meekness—could not well be better imagined than as here shown.

T. C.

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Chapter XXVIII

MICHELANGELO BUONAROTTI

(Born 1474, died 1564)

The saddest of all the artist lives we know of is that of Michelangelo. Egregious self-esteem is often the accompaniment of the artistic temperament, and, diligently fostered by the undiscriminating admiration of the incompetent and ignorant modern public, becomes the compensation for many failures and the salve for many wounds; if it existed in him in a notable degree, it was accompanied by so just an appreciation of his own capacities that it could have given him little satisfaction in presence of the far greater popularity of Raphael, and (what was still more depressing to his self-respect) the utter miscomprehension of the character of his genius by those who alone could give him employment fitting to it. His contempt for Raphael—probably in the main the result of the excessive admiration of that precocious genius by the whole world of Rome—was founded at least on the extreme incongruity of his own and Raphael's art,—the former masculine, sublime both in its intensity and in its forms, the latter feminine, flexible, full of the graces which demoralize art, and made attractive by a seductive sweetness which to the robust imagination of Michelangelo must have been the very Capua of its decline. In the full sense of this, to him, degradation of art, he was goaded to revolt by commissions that had no relation to his genius, and work that only his universality made endurable, while his profoundly religious nature compelled obedience to the head of the Church, and must have driven him to despair as it drove him to what he knew for injustice to his true calling. This, with intervals of congenial employment, was the tenor of his life.

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The light of the most exhaustive research has been thrown on his life, and romance has charged it with its highest colors, though the simple truth is at once romantic and pathetic enough. He was born in Settignano,[1] in the Val d'Arno, at the time that the greatest painters of the best epoch of Italian art were in full activity,—just as the last of the great Giotteschi, Paolo Uccello, died, and while Mantegna, Verrocchio, Signorelli, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio were doing their best work. He had what was rare amongst the painters of that time—a family name, being descended from the ancient lords of Canossa, which, in a time when the prestige of blood was strong, may have accounted in part for the supercilious spirit with which he certainly did look on some of his brother artists; and but for his love of art and the strong devotional tendencies of his character, he would probably have taken a leading part in the public affairs of his country. Artists were not, till after the day of Raphael and Titian, the object of any deference in the social world, though to a partial extent they had been the object of a certain religious reverence, which was passing away when Michelangelo appeared on the scene. The painter, as well as the architect, was simply an artisan of a superior class, and the sculptor only a superior decorator. They were all set to work according to the tastes and conveniences of their employers, and paid mostly by the month; and in the judgments of the time the qualities which gave the precedence in popular approbation were those of good workmanship and intelligible story-telling. A correct judgment of the higher excellences of sculpture is always far above the capacities of any general public, and was certainly as much so at the time of Buonarotti as it is now. He was by the public never judged by his highest gift, which was that of sculpture. At the age of fourteen he was placed as an apprentice in the studio of Ghirlandaio, when already, by the aid of his comrades, he had made some progress in the art, as is shown by the articles of apprenticeship, according him pay in the first years of his apprenticeship, six, eight, and twelve florins of gold respectively; but his early instruction was not such as to modify the peculiar tendency of his genius, for Ghir-

1 Another account says at Caprese. I do not find that there is any definite statement of the place of birth. His father, Lodovico di Lionardo Buonarotti Simoni, lived in Settignano, near Florence, but was for the year of Michelangelo's birth Podestà of Chiusi and Caprese, and returned to his estate at Settignano when the year was ended; but whether the family accompanied him in his official migration is not clear. Under the circumstances, he must be considered a native of Settignano. W. J. S.

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landaio was no colorist, but a painter, whose instructions were perhaps more profitable to the nature of Michelangelo than would have been those of a better painter having less scientific tendencies.

Being received two years later into the Academy of Lorenzo de' Medici, he found his true occupation through the study of the antique marbles collected there. Probably no artist of our era was so completely capable of appreciating the art of Greece both in its form and in its spirit, and to my mind no loss to the world's art has been so great as that which diverted Michelangelo from sculpture. This we owe to the popes. Lorenzo de' Medici was apparently a better judge of the artist, for he so highly appreciated his attempt to rival the Greeks that he made him an official pensioner of the state. The first expulsion of the Medici, however, left him at the age of twenty dependent on his own resources. Whether from grief at the downfall of his protector (for, though deficient in the taste of Lorenzo, his successor, Pietro II., had become the patron of Michelangelo) or from the want of occupation in Florence, he went to Bologna and found work in sculpture. It is said that a Cupid of his execution done at this time was purchased by the Duchess of Mantua as an antique, which fact did more for his reputation than the merit of his work would have done, and led to his being invited to Rome, where at this visit he was occupied only in sculpture. The great Pietà in St. Peter's (placed where it is quite impossible to see it properly) was a work of this epoch, executed at the age of twenty-five, and to my mind is the most perfect of all his works. He was then recalled to Florence to execute certain commissions for the city, among them the lost cartoon in rivalry with Leonardo, of which one can only say that it showed his knowledge of anatomy if we may judge by the copy of a portion of it which remains, but on which, as a whole, we can pass no judgment. In 1506 he was again called to Rome by Julius II., to design the monument to himself, of which we have the Moses in S. Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome, and several other statues left unfinished, for the monument was never completed.

Michelangelo's ill fortune in his fame has followed him to the present day, for instead of being judged peculiarly as a sculptor, he is still most considered through the "Last Judgment" of the Sistine Chapel, painted at a later period than this, and perhaps the most ungrateful of the tasks imposed on him by papal order. Had it been painted in that period of greater elasticity of talent in which

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the ceiling was executed, it would no doubt have been more in keeping with the ceiling, but in the interval the artist had grown older, had devoted himself more to the study of anatomy, which is in the highest degree obnoxious to the spirit of beauty, and, like all scientific pursuits, to the subtlety of art, and had devoted himself for the intervening years purely to sculpture. He must have had little sympathy with the task, for though it brims over with ostentation of power, and of scientific knowledge, both elements hostile to the serenity of the highest art, it is as unhappy in its impression as if the artist had imagined himself condemned in it. As a display of technical ability it is astounding; but I never look at it without an aversion which has as much of regret at the lost labor given to it as of sympathy with the repugnance to the theme which I am convinced Michelangelo himself felt.

The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, another commission of Julius, finished in 1512, is certainly the work which best justifies the employment of Michelangelo as a painter, not only as containing his best painting, but as in itself the finest piece of decorative painting in existence. It is in the taste of the time, in which the Renaissance had developed all the exaggerations of its characteristics, but both in the ensemble and in the invention of its details and the pathetic character of its mythic personages it has no peer amongst the many similar works of a time of fertile designing and masterly execution. He was able to give full play in it to his magnificent conception of the sculpturesque material of Roman mythology and to that subtle quality of composition which is so prominent in his statues, and is one of the artistic charms of Greek art,—that of filling a space without either monotony or dissidence of lines or masses. Every figure has the value of one on a Greek coin, and the largeness of treatment is a model for all time. For color we do not look to it, for he had not the gift of color in the high artistic sense, but even in this its decorative value is satisfactory because, thanks to the scale of color employed, nothing jars; but for all other elements of art it is a lesson forever. Looking at the mighty sweep of his brush, we can well imagine the impatience with which he swept aside the little fresco-painters who were to do the work after his drawings, and shutting himself in a seclusion in which he had no need to apprehend stupid comment or—the worst that could befall him—imbecile approbation, gave permanent form to his inspirations.

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The appreciation of works of such power and imagination must always be partial and limited, but to me the Scripture stories told in the central compartments are of less value as art than the Sibyls, which are sculpturesque creations more in the vein of all the marble work of Michelangelo, and in the direction of his highest gifts, which were in the invention of form. The Sistine ceiling was finished when he was still in what may be considered his youth, before he was thirty. In 1513 Julius died and was succeeded by Leo X., who was the friend of Raphael and was comparatively indifferent to Buonarotti, and the ten years of his pontificate are the least productive and probably the least grateful of the artist's life. It is noted for the ungratified desire to erect at his own expense what would have been, in one sense, if it had been made an actuality, the most interesting monument of the Renaissance—a tomb to Dante, for the removal of whose remains to Florence the Seigniory were then in treaty with the authorities of Ravenna, where the poet was buried. Whether the failure came from the pope's refusal or the refusal of Ravenna to give up the remains of Dante, we are not informed, but the world must regret the result of the negotiations. The accession of Clement VII. in 1523 brought Michelangelo again into activity, and the plans for the Medici Chapel at S. Lorenzo employed his best gifts. The statue of the Duke Lorenzo stands with the David and the Pietà in St. Peter's, at his highest level, and the Moses, in another vein, falls short of these three by but little. That which more than any of the other works of Michelangelo distinguishes him from the Greek on one side and the lesser men on the other, is the Lorenzo, since the imaginative element, which was his almost unique gift among sculptors, is stronger in it than in any other of his statues. If, as the tradition goes, he could call on his Moses to speak, he might have called on Lorenzo to rise and come down from his pedestal, so instinct with life is it. While the artist was engaged on this work, the Medici were again expelled from Florence and the city was besieged by the forces of the pope and his allies to restore them. Michelangelo was called to fortify the city, and this episode of his life is one of the most interesting to his biography, if not to his art. He fled before the surrender, fearing the vengeance of the victors, and knowing well that in the temper of those times his character of artist was no protection in the rage of a sack of the city. He was recalled by the pope to finish the chapel in S. Lorenzo.

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The pontificate of Clement VII. was followed in 1534 by that of Paul III., who commissioned Michelangelo to paint the "Last Judgment," which he did, we are told, with reluctance, and probably, as I have already indicated, without interest; and it seems to me that this is betrayed in the work itself, though repainting has long since deprived it of that autographic quality which, like handwriting, betrays the mind of the man. It has suffered from restoration too much to enable us to pronounce on the painting,[1] but the drawing remains as Michelangelo's, and it is almost all that is his, for the subject was forced on him. He was sixty-seven when it was finished. The almost defaced frescos of the Pauline Chapel were due to the same period, and closed his career as a painter. From this time to the end of his life he was principally engaged on St. Peter's, and this portion of his life is to my mind only less wasted than that employed on the "Last Judgment" and the Pauline Chapel. If even the original plan had been carried out and we had been fully enabled to judge of Michelangelo as an architect, it would not have been worth the time taken from sculpture; but, looking at the church as it is completed, we cannot even find his design, and the stupendous dome alone remains to show his brain. As art St. Peter's is one of the worst failures of the late Renaissance, and, not only in its general plan but in its details, except the dome, is far inferior to many of the minor churches of Italy. Michelangelo was fifty-eight when he was ordered to begin the "Last Judgment," and eighty-eight when he died.

The pathetic episode of the artist's life, which was his devotion to Vittoria Colonna, is in keeping with his whole life: throughout he was balked, disappointed, turned back into himself perpetually. That he never became a misanthrope or sullied his life with the immoralities too common in his surrounding, adds to the luster of his character, not to his greatness as an artist; but we should regard as incomplete a life in which no such romantic interest entered, and that of Michelangelo has all the pathos of a great tragedy.

[1] I don't agree with this. If it had suffered to this extent, the drawing would have gone too. Of course I know that parts are badly damaged, but enough remains to judge by. C. F. MURRAY.

I think that Mr. Murray, for whose opinion I have the most sincere respect, here hardly takes into account the difference between his trained and subtle discrimination, which enables him to judge from a little passage of painting, and the less accomplished student, who sees a work as a whole; and as a whole I do not think we can judge of what the "Judgment" was when the artist left it—as to mere execution—brushwork. W. J. S.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

I REMEMBER a picture by Gérôme that represents Raphael in his first visit to the Sistine Chapel — that stolen visit recorded by Vasari, and in which Raphael is shown to be shrinking to the ground as he steals along with his head raised to the stupendous creations above him. Something of this feeling of shrinking always comes over me when I go into the Sistine Chapel. I have been much impressed, while engraving the "Cumæan Sibyl," with the incessant movement of Michelangelo. It is endless, but most subtle. All is form with him — grandeur of form. Yet he has grand repose — the repose of the ocean, never at rest. If he should give way to the terrible within him! *But he is always contained*, and they are, to my thinking, mistaken in him who say he always "lets himself out." Where is there any such excess about him? It would be the height of all absurdity and weakness, found no doubt among his followers, with whom let those compare him who think he is "all blow," and they may then perhaps see or feel the profound depth and grandeur and forbearance he is possessed of, and the terrible inward power he suggests. Note the marvelous finish of his things, even to the minutest portions. His flesh is so highly finished that you feel its softness, and when he sets his hand to finish, he slights nothing, and it is amazing what delicacy he can give. He paints the twisted thread in his "Three Fates" with the utmost fidelity; you note its twisted character throughout, and the light upon it, relieving it from the drapery here and there, and then the bunch of flax in its sheaf, most remarkable for lightness and delicacy of touch. I could not reproduce, should I engrave never so fine, the amazing quantity of work he puts in, and the finish and delicacy he gives to everything.

Michelangelo's coloring is not what is generally known as rich, but it is perfection in the harmony and softness of tints. The frescos of the Vatican have darkened from dampness and the smoke of incense, but it is easy to see that they must have been light in coloring — painted in a very high key. The highest lights even now approach pure white, while the darkest portions are gray and soft. The scheme of coloring in the whole is very refined; nothing is pronounced or positive. The tints are laid in broadly, and float tenderly into one another. The backgrounds to the figures and the skies are gray, the lightest portions nearly pure white, while the coloring of the robes is sometimes blue of a fresh, pure, delicate tint, red of a fine, soft grayish tone, yellow inclining to old gold, and green of a most delicate soft gray tone; and then there are mixtures of these tones of fine subtle hues impossible to describe, but darkish and gray in tone. His flesh-tints are finely worked, of a darkish warm gray tone. It is a grandeur and depth of coloring quite befitting the nobleness of the theme and execution.

I did not engrave the cracks in the "Cumæa," as I did in the "Delphica." You don't see them, or are not attracted by them, as you look up at the frescos.

T. C.

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Chapter XXIX

RAPHAEL (RAFAELLO DI GIOVANNI SANTI)

(Born 1483, died 1520)

Undisputed prince of painters for more than three centuries, not another of the magnates in art of the Italian Renaissance has been in the last two generations so belittled and belauded, by turns and by sects, as Raphael. And not another shows so luminously the advantages and the dangers of the system of art education which made the Renaissance what it was. When he began to paint we do not know, nor is it certain under whom, but probably his father, Giovanni Santi, was his first master. Vasari's love of the marvelous always led him to an overcoloring of what he most admired or disliked, so that none of his statements can be accepted implicitly when his sympathies or antipathies are enlisted; and his admiration of Raphael was unbounded. It was in part the reflection of the tone of his time, in which the personal charm of the brilliant painter, who died when all the world of Rome considered him at the threshold of a greater destiny, still prejudiced all criticism. Late and scientific investigation has furnished some confirmation and some contradiction of Vasari, and for the last half-century Raphael has become the subject of antagonistic appreciations—the logical consequence of unintelligent laudation.

He was born at Urbino,—so much seems certain,—and in the year 1483; Vasari says on the 28th of March, a Good Friday, though Grimm and later researches make it April 6; but there is no record of the event by contemporary authority, nor have those who make pilgrimages to the house where he is supposed to have been born any assurance of its being his birthplace. His name appears for the first time in his father's will, and all the details of Vasari concerning his infancy are questionable, or even disproved by positive

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evidence. Raphael's mother, Magia, died in 1491, and his father married again in the following year, and died in 1494, when the boy was eleven. Of what had been done before that by his father to educate him in the practice of art, or what was done immediately after, we know nothing; all the marvels of Vasari, Passavant, and Grimm are of the very lightest authority. What we can, with some chance of probability, conclude under the circumstances which we know is that, as Raphael's father had taken up painting with a reverential feeling for the art which is betrayed in his poetry, he would hail the first signs of a devotion to it in his only son, and would give him full play for his early efforts, which, from the general evidence we possess of the precocity of the youth, we may conclude to have been of high promise. It would be quite beyond all human probability that under those circumstances the father should not have imparted such education as was in his power; and as the artistic training of that time was in its early stages a purely technical one, full of conventional rules and methods mainly calculated to develop facility of execution and produce a stereotyped result in which, with all the acumen of modern investigation of styles and methods of execution, it is often impossible to determine the authorship of a work, the requisite education must have been quite within the father's competence. Colors were combined according to formula for all objects; the shadows of flesh had certain pigments, and the lights certain others; the conception of an imitation of nature in the modern sense had not entered into art; and the early training of the apprentice was in grinding colors, preparing grounds, tracing the designs of the master on the panel, and, as power increased, in doing by rule more or less of the actual painting. These processes Giovanni Santi must have learned before he could be considered a painter, and these he must have been competent to teach his son; and as we know that in the case of some of the masters of the epoch the studio-training began at the age of eight, when the boys were sent away from home to the master's house, Raphael might have been indulging his precocity at seven, or even at six, in his home and under his father's eye, and that at the time of his reception in the studio of Perugino (which we have no data to place earlier than 1500,[1] though it may have taken place in 1495,

[1] It must have been before 1500. The date of the "Sposalizio" is 1504—a picture much superior to Lord Dudley's "Crucifixion," wherein Raphael imitated Perugino to such an extent that some years must have been occupied in the process. C. F. MURRAY.

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immediately after his father's death) he knew already the elements of the painter's art well enough to become a valuable assistant. The question where Raphael spent the years between his father's death and the recognized date (1500) of his being at work with Perugino has been discussed with a superabundance of hypothesis. He has been assigned to Timoteo della Vite and to Signorelli, but on no evidence whatever. We have no trace of the influence of any other painter than Perugino in his work, for as we know nothing of the style or attainments of Giovanni Santi we cannot pretend to find his manner in it. But it is not difficult to account for the probability of the earliest influence of Perugino, because we know from the poem of Giovanni that he regarded that master as the peer of Leonardo, who at that time was the highest of all the painters of the day in the general estimation; and if Giovanni's own induction into the technique of the art was not due to Perugino, there can be no question that he absorbed what was possible from that master's work and carried it into his own. What he taught Raphael then was certain to be, as far as he could make it, what he had learned from Perugino; and there is another consideration which adds strength to this hypothesis—the fact that Perugino was the master of the day who taught most successfully those technical attainments which were the elements by which a painter was judged and his rank assigned. Originality of conception or treatment stood for little in comparison with good workmanship, the possession of a correct method of using the colors, and the ability to design harmoniously. Perugino was generally recognized as the strongest painter of the time in fresco; he knew better how to do what he set before himself than any other painter of his time, and this was the standard by which the artist was then assigned his rank. Nor is there any foundation for the assumption that Giovanni, considering his knowledge of art insufficient, himself sent the boy to Perugino. Supposing him to have been a bad artist, which we have no right to assume, he was less likely to hold this opinion of himself than if he had been a good one, and all that we really know of the matter tends to indicate that he was the only master Raphael had before going to work with the greater one.

The "Sposalizio," as it is called, the "Marriage of the Virgin," a picture which shows the extent of his obligation to Perugino, is the first of Raphael's works to which we can fix a date. It was painted in 1504, and in the main is a refinement on, and a more

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complete carrying out of, the same subject as painted by Perugino, and must be considered as a tribute to the master. About this time Raphael went to Florence, and, returning to Perugia, he painted the "Entombment" for Baglioni, the head of the ruling family in that city. This picture was painted in 1507, and the progress, or modification, of his ideas during the interval between it and the "Sposalizio" indicates the effect that Florentine art had had on him. He returned to Florence, and, after what must have been a very short stay there, was called to Rome by Julius II. We do not know the date, but it was between 1508 and 1510. Julius summoned to Rome all young artists who gave promise of great abilities, to assist in carrying out the grand schemes of decoration which he had conceived for the Vatican.

To Raphael was first assigned for decoration the room of the Signature. Here he showed that his intercourse with men of letters and the more liberal artists of Florence had opened another world of thought and art interest to him, and the series of what may be called his philosophical allegories has nothing to do with the world of Perugino, or with the purely religious art of the preceding generation. The mystic meanings and the lofty speculation which some of the German critics find in the frescos of the Vatican have nothing to do with art. If I accepted them I should lay to their charge the decay in the art itself which the latest work of Raphael shows; but I believe that the hidden philosophy was not put there by the painter, that he simply tried to arrange his subjects so as to make the most harmonious arrangement, and that the philosophy, theology, and mythology were borrowed from his society and surroundings.[1] He had seen the great compositions of Masaccio at Florence, and in them learned a lesson Perugino never appreciated; he carried the motive of this lesson further, and in some respects worked it out more completely. But to admit that he meant what Grimm finds in the compositions is to me impossible—so much speculation would have killed the art. The fact is that Raphael had an extraordinary and, so far as we can judge by the history of painting, unique power of absorbing the ideas and feelings of other men. He caught the color of every great artist he approached, and the marvelous facility of design he had acquired by his early training, seconded by a phenomenal power of invention, enabled him sometimes to surpass in their own way the work of the men he emulated.

[1] It is well determined that his inspirer in philosophy and archæology was Cardinal Bembo. W. J. S.

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The second room of the Vatican—that of the Heliodorus, etc.—is designed more in accordance with the artist's individual feeling, and furnishes some passages of composition which must remain as the highest attainment of Raphael's invention in this vein. Before it was finished Julius died, and was succeeded by Leo X., under whose pontificate Raphael became the arbiter of art in Rome. Michelangelo was driven by neglect from the pontifical court, and retired to Florence, leaving Raphael alone and supreme.

The room of the Stanze was begun in 1515, and was followed by the hall of Constantine and the Loggie in a sequence of design and execution which for its extent, even with allowance for the aid of his pupils, is incomprehensible to the modern painter. During this period he was introduced by stealth into the Sistine Chapel, as the legend goes, and saw the ceiling of Michelangelo, which once more modified his art in a manner which is more remarkable than all the previous developments. The effect of this is seen in the frescos in the church of Sta. Maria della Pace in Rome. The Cartoons give us what on the whole seems to me the most triumphant achievement of Raphael in this vein of design, and I should rank them as the highest examples of what is generally understood as academic composition, that art which being still pure art approaches the region of artifice so closely as to be, to certain minds, indefensible. I shall not discuss the matter here, but simply say that, in my opinion, to exclude this phase of Raphael's art from the classics of art would be as absurd as to exclude the "Paradise Lost" from classical English literature. What shows the real decadence of the painter is the purely mythological work of his later years, the Galatea, and the Cupid and Psyche in the Farnesina. The Cartoons were finished in 1516. Raphael had now grown rich and famous as no artist of his epoch had dreamed of becoming; he had made art itself a more noble profession than it had ever been admitted to be, raising what had been held only as a craft and mechanical occupation to the consideration of a liberal profession. Titian and Michelangelo had contributed to this education of society, but in a less degree than Raphael, who could by marriage have allied himself with one of the princes of the Church, a dignity of which nowadays we can hardly estimate the importance. Rome was the capital of the civilized world, the cardinals took precedence of princes of the blood, and the pope deposed sovereigns.

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Whatever one may feel in regard to any particular phase of Raphael's art, there is a wide range of choice. My personal feeling is a preference for the earlier stage of his evolution, marked most graciously by the "Madonna del Granduca." The "Madonna di San Sisto" at Munich palls somewhat on me; the "Sediola" has less of the artist's peculiar, spiritual refinement; and most of the other Madonnas have something in the composition which was imposed or forced. But the Virgin of the "Granduca" has the simplicity of a Greek statue and the sweetness of a Christian saint. I cannot follow or understand the maybe subtle, and maybe purely fantastic, analysis of Grimm in his "Life of Raphael," which seems less a biography than a metaphysical discussion of the sixteenth century, its art and its artists, in which discussion the conclusions are often based on premises in the air. Thus the conclusions he draws on the "Coronation of the Virgin" are founded on certain silver-point drawings which he considers to have been Raphael's studies for it; but a more competent technical critic than he[1] declares these drawings to have been the work of some subsequent student of Raphael, and drawn from the picture. Yet on this premise Grimm constructs the history of the evolution of Raphael's early art! Whatever these drawings may be, or by whom, there is no evidence to connect them with Raphael himself; and the mysterious and sudden change of style in the manner of the artist on which Grimm bases such surprising conclusions, and of which he offers no satisfactory explanation, ceases to offer any difficulty if we understand that the silver-point drawings are simply studies of Raphael by one of his later admirers.

There is much that is surprising, but nothing mysterious, in the career of Raphael. His was one of those extraordinary and precocious natures which ripen quickly and decay as rapidly, condensing life and work into a fraction of the time a slower and more massive intellect would have taken to complete its evolution. He must have begun at an abnormally early age, and he finished at thirty-seven, with his best work done and his highest inspiration exhausted. He had an organization of extreme sensibility, which responded, with a docility quite unique in the history of art, to the influence of any strong mind that approached him, with a facility of invention which adapted all to his own purposes; but in his personal right he had a refinement of perception which enabled him to

[1] C. F. Murray.

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add to what he borrowed a subtlety and grace which made it his own. To realize fully his power of design we must study the drawings he made for his pictures. In the academical qualities of drawing he has never had an equal, and the fertility and rapidity of his invention are shown by the enormous number of works he has left. These gifts make him the great master for serious students of painting in its larger field,—that of expression of the artist's thought,—and I have heard the greatest of modern idealists, Jean François Millet, talk by the hour with the highest enthusiasm on a portfolio of the Raphael drawings as the *ne plus ultra* of design in its best sense. For the modern type of painter, the man who regards his function to be that of a mirror to nature, or who considers nature his mistress rather than his purveyor, and his brush-work more important than his conception, Raphael is no model, and for such he has no lesson. The tendency of all modern painting is more and more to these characteristics, so that he who will understand the Urbinate in all his breadth must turn his back on all the modern schools (if there be anything now which deserves the name of school), and build his judgments on a standard founded in the range of work from Masaccio to Michelangelo. By this standard Raphael must be given, if not the supreme rank which his contemporaries gave him, at least a place in the front rank among the half-dozen who have endowed art with a higher nobility; and among them all he stands first for the sense of beauty, and next to Michelangelo for refinement; first as academician and composer, and side by side with Giotto for fertility of invention. This is enough of honor.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE gem of Florence—the "Madonna of the Goldfinch"—hangs in the tribune of the Uffizi.[1] It is painted on wood, and measures 3 feet 1 inch high by 2 feet 5 inches wide. The Virgin is seated upon a rock, within a quiet landscape—a portion of the environs of Florence as seen from a point of view going toward Fiesole along the stream Mugnone. To the left, spanning it, is the bridge Badia. To the right is Florence, with the Tuscan hills beyond. The whole is bathed in a soft and mellow light, as in a dream.

The child Jesus, leaning against his mother's lap, has been reciting from the book she holds, when he is interrupted by his companion, the little St. John, who has caught a bird, and, panting, has come with it in glee to Jesus. He grasps

1 I do not agree that the "Cardellino" is the gem of Florence. C. F. MURRAY.

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it as a child might, with both hands, regardless of hurting it. Note the roundness of his form, his shock of curls, and his animal spirits, as contrasted with the lithe figure and pensive attitude of Jesus — the deep expression of love and tenderness in his face as he raises his hand and gently caresses the bird. This is the most wonderful Christ-child that I have yet seen painted. We see the usual nimbus encircling the heads of the Madonna and the Baptist, but in the case of Jesus I could discover nothing upon first glance, and I thought this worthy of note. My attention, however, was called to certain fine and delicate rays of gold very close to the head — three or four at the top and the same number on each side, forming, as it were, three arms of a cross. They are barely to be seen even upon a close inspection, but doubtless they are there. They could not, however, be engraved in my coarse reduction without exaggerating their value, and this would be to the detriment of the expression of the child's face, which is of far more importance. It is plain that Raphael intends that the glory of the child shall be seen in the beauty of its figure and the expression of its face, heavy with love — as near to divinity as might be.

How placid and sweet is the Virgin! The very essence of all sweetness — classic in pose, reminding us of the antique Greek statues, and of a purity and beauty peculiar to the genius of its author. The picture was painted for Lorenzo Nasi, Raphael's friend, on the occasion of his marriage. In 1547, twenty-seven years after the death of Raphael, Nasi's palace, which stood on the hill of S. Giorgio, was ruined with many others by the sinking of the hill. This picture was then broken into twenty or thirty pieces, but was recovered and restored by the son of Lorenzo, a great lover of the arts.

T. C.

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Chapter XXX

ANDREA DEL SARTO

(Born 1487, died 1531)

It is a little amusing to see how, of all the painters of his time, Andrea del Sarto—*i. e.*, Andrea the son of the tailor—should have left for us the most traces of his genealogy, with the exception of Michelangelo and Titian, who were of noble families. His great-grandfather was an agricultural laborer, his grandfather a linen-weaver, and his father a tailor. He was apprenticed when he was seven to a goldsmith, and at that tender age he would have found the mechanical occupation uninteresting even if he had not had a more decided bent for design, his precocity in which led to his being transferred to the studio of Piero di Cosimo, with whom he remained till 1498, when he was recommended by his master as a competent assistant to Piero de' Medici, who employed him for a period of which we have no positive indication, giving him time for study of the classical work of the day, that of Masaccio, Leonardo, and Michelangelo. At that time it seems to have been the general practice of the young painters to study the works at the Carmine and those in the Papal hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where the Cartoons were kept; and from the work of Leonardo and Michelangelo Andrea learned a breadth of treatment which is one of his most noble traits. With Francia Bigio, who was one of the fellow-students who met there, he contracted an intimacy which led to their taking quarters together and working more or less in company. Bigio was the pupil of Mariotto Albertinelli, who, with his co-worker Fra Bartolommeo, seems to have exercised an early influence on Andrea (who was at all periods of his life much influenced by those about him), and it is possibly to their example that the partnership between Bigio and Andrea was due.

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All visitors to Florence know the frescos in the court of the convent of the Servi, which closes the Piazza of the Annunciata on the north. These are works of the period when Andrea was the companion of Bigio, and we have to thank the Servi for the able enlistment of the rivalries of young ambitions, the friars having, on account of their want of means, the habit of employing the minor talents of the time. Fra Mariano, the sacristan, suggested to Andrea that it would be for his worldly advantage to have his work seen and known under the auspices of the convent, and at the same time insinuating a dose of personal rivalry with the compeers of the painter, succeeded in getting on very favorable terms a contract for the three frescos, "Saint Philip sharing his cloak with the leper," "Saint Philip cursing the gamblers," and "Saint Philip restoring the girl possessed of a devil." These were followed by two other Saint Philip subjects, which established Andrea in the reputation of being one of the ablest painters of the day. They were all painted before he was twenty-three. To be near his work he took quarters with Bigio at the Sapienza, a block of buildings near the convent of the Servi, and here he was much in the society of Sansovino, with whom and other artistic and literary spirits he took part in the proceedings of a social and jovial club called "The Company of the Cooking Pot." This society was organized on a large scale of conviviality, if we may judge from the rule that every member was allowed to invite four guests, while the members were expected to bring to the meetings every one his own dish, a fine being imposed on him who brought one which duplicated his neighbor's. The Bohemian element seems already to have taken the place of the old religious feeling in the craft, for in this club and others which were formed in imitation of it there was more rioting than prayer.

While it is idle to assert that to succeed in the religious vein, that of Fra Angelico and Giotto, a painter must be a devout and pious man, it is not to be disputed that the religious temperament and a high standard of morality develop a loftier ideal, and that the pure and single-minded life which they produce brings out a greater intensity in any work and a more complete devotion to the higher aims of art, with less ostentation and vulgarity, and almost certainly a more impersonal and purer general tendency. Grave and direct purpose in painting, as in any other occupation, imparts a definite quality to the production; while the pleasure-loving and

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self-indulgent nature is betrayed in the works of Andrea, though nothing vicious or sensual can be charged to them. He became prosperous, and even before he could complete his contract with the Servi he was overwhelmed with orders. His pictures had been hitherto mainly, if not altogether, in fresco, but in the course of the two or three years following 1510 he became distinguished for his success in oils. The romantic event of his life took place soon after his adoption of the new medium, which, being more adapted to the private commissions which he probably received in abundance, was more profitable than the convent commissions of the Servi. He was in love with the handsome Lucretia Recanati, the widow of a hatter in the Via San Gallo, whose character we know was such as to stimulate his worldliness, and after his marriage with the widow in 1513 he devoted himself, according to the traditions, to money-making. She was beautiful, and according to Vasari, who, being a pupil of Andrea, suffered from her real or asserted infirmities, was so tyrannical and meddling that she drove his apprentices out of the house by her temper. Vasari gives her a bad character, but nothing beyond his testimony remains to show the foundation of the charge.

Andrea was one of the artists who produced the model of the façade of the Duomo of Florence at the time of the visit of Leo X. This model was afterward allowed to go to ruin, to the regret of the time, which regarded its classical style as worthy of perpetuation in stone. As it was produced by Andrea and Sansovino jointly, we do not know with what part in it the former is to be credited. The masterly knowledge of perspective shown in some of his frescos would suggest, however, such a knowledge of architecture as most of the painters of the period possessed. Andrea's skill in contriving spectacular displays was put to use in the funeral ceremonies of Giuliano de' Medici in 1516, and in the following year we find him at work again at the Scalzo, the convent which had drawn Andrea away from the Servi by higher pay. At about the same time he was painting the Virgin and Child, St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist with angels, now in the Uffizi. About this time the attention of Francis I. of France was drawn to the works of Andrea by a picture of a dead Christ mourned by three angels which was sent to France, the result of which was a call to the court of Francis, which he accepted, going thither in 1518. His success was great, and he was in the full enjoyment of the

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royal favor until his wife, tired of her solitude in Florence, a condition which does not chime with Vasari's accusations of weak morality, prevailed on him by her entreaties to return to Florence. Having obtained the permission of the king, and being commissioned to make purchases of pictures for the royal account, the money for which was intrusted to him, he returned to his home and spent his own and the king's money in building himself a house. so that he was unable to return to France, and in 1520 he was at work again for the Scalzo, where he painted until 1523. When the plague appeared in Florence in 1524, he went to Mugello, where he painted several pictures for the nunnery there. He returned to Florence in the autumn, and remained there, so far as we know, throughout the rest of his life, occupied mostly in painting altar-pieces. He died on the 22d of January, 1531.

The art of Andrea approaches more the modern motive than that of any of his contemporaries, and the quality of pictorial effect, which he had learned from Da Vinci, was carried by him, if in a somewhat meretricious way, further than it was by any of his immediate successors. His color, while never of the grand Venetian type, was harmonious and more varied than that of any of his rivals. It was of a nature to attract the popular approbation and that of partially educated lovers of art. In his design he caught something from all the masters, now from Michelangelo, now from Da Vinci, and now from Ghirlandaio; his versatility and facility were extraordinary, and though his art belongs distinctly to the decline, it is, like all first-fruits of the over-cultivation of the sensuous qualities, more attractive than severer classical work. Spiritual elevation is no longer present in art at that time; intellectual dignity appears in some later painters to such a degree that it almost simulates the loftiness of the purist painters; but neither the one quality nor the other belonged to Andrea, whose gifts were almost entirely technical. He brought fresco to its highest perfection in the qualities of execution and sweetness of color, and his work in oils is surprising in its ease and certainty of touch. The traditions of art were so confirmed in that day that he had no need to develop great originality of design, for the greater masters of that quality had left him ample material. Originality was not then looked on as now, the adoption of a design due to an earlier master being the constant practice of even the greatest painters. What had been done was the common property of the art, and Raphael's "Sposalizio" was

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not the worst thought of for its having been taken almost bodily from that of his master, Perugino. If the art of Andrea can properly be called religious art, it is the latest in the Florentine school that we can accept under this designation.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE "St. Agnes" by Andrea del Sarto, in the Duomo at Pisa, is one of the sweetest and most refined subjects by him that I know of. It is in excellent preservation, and hangs on the last pillar on the right of the nave as you face the high altar. It is painted on wood, and measures 4 feet 11 inches high by 3 feet 5 inches wide. It is very pleasant and harmonious in coloring. The robe about the shoulders is of a reddish-salmon color, of a florid yet soft and charming hue. This is offset by the lovely landscape background, which is, in general tone, of a cool gray-blue, soft and flowing in treatment. The lower robe about the knees is of a warm purplish-gray — a delightful, cool, creamy tone in the high lights, becoming of a plum color in the middle tints and of a stronger and more decided purple in the darker shades. The robe over the seat is of a dark, rich lustrous blue. The sleeve of the arm that holds the palm is of a soft neutral green. The head-dress is white, lower in tone than the high lights of the flesh. The flesh-tints are mellow and soft. The expression of the face is subtle and refined. It is so highly wrought, and delicate and sweet, that very little would coarsen and vulgarize it. I have not been able to do more than suggest its charming quality.

St. Agnes was a Roman maiden, and suffered martyrdom at an early age, by the sword, because of her profession of Christianity, A. D. 304. Her followers were used to assemble at her tomb for devotion, and there one day she appeared to them with a lamb by her side, and told them of her perfect happiness and glory. She holds, therefore, the palm of the martyr, and her emblem is the lamb.

T. C.

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Chapter XXXI

TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLI)

(Born 1477, died 1576)

The visitor to the little village of Cadore, lying just off the great Roman road from Italy to Germany, finds it full of testimonies of its having been the birthplace of the greatest of colorists. His statue in bronze stands in the public square, and a little cottage near by is charged with a tablet inscribed with the information—of doubtful accuracy—that it is the house in which the painter was born.

Cadore is not a pictorial country, in the sense of furnishing subjects for the landscapist, but it has here and there strong motives and in parts is very wild; and no doubt when the boy came to live in Venice, with its islands moored on the almost tideless sea, the land stretching in every direction but seaward as far as the eye can reach, and almost as level as the sea itself, he longed for his highlands. His frequent returns to these native mountains in later life must have intensified the impressions of his boyhood to a strength which they would never have obtained had he remained among them. He did not find his color there, for the landscape is extremely monotonous in color; but he kept the feeling of the mountain-land,—its aiguilles, and its vigorous light and shade,—and besides being a great colorist, which he owed to Venice, he became a great landscape-painter at a time when such a thing was unknown. The Tuscan and Umbrian backgrounds serve only to make you feel that you are out of doors, that the blue sky is overhead, and the pleasant earth underfoot; the clouds stand for nothing, and the hills have no function but to break the monotony of the composition; the trees are mere symbols, and the nearest

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view of nature that we get is a bit of plant-drawing in the foreground: but Titian has the spirit of the hills, and he loves the anatomy of the trees as much as that of the human beings. He was nine or ten when he went to Venice to live, not, so far as we know, with any intention on the part of his noble father of making a painter of him, but, according to Vasari, to be with his uncle, "an honored citizen of Venice," who, finding that he had a disposition to become a painter, put him to study with Giovanni Bellini. Speculation has been wasted on his relation with other masters, and has gone so far as to make him the pupil of his comrade, Giorgione; but the art of the Bellini—it is impossible to separate the effect of the teaching of the brothers—accounts for Titian as well as for Giorgione. Vasari makes a statement of very great significance in relation to the art of Venice, the importance of which has not been recognized because it has not been generally understood how much the schools of central Italy depended on tradition and convention. He says:

> Giovanni Bellini and the other painters of Venice, having no knowledge of early art, were accustomed to work altogether from life, though in a dry and severe manner. Titian therefore was educated in this way.

As there is here an intelligent distinction between the work of men who had inherited the precepts of a line of painters extending from Giotto to Perugino, and that of those who had only three generations of artistic predecessors, and those not of high ability, and therefore had been compelled to lean more on nature, it is impossible not to admit that the observation of Vasari was well made, and that the Venetians did study nature, severely, but that the Tuscans did not. But when Vasari goes on to say that Giorgione, and Titian after him, followed the practice of painting directly, and without the preparatory drawing or cartoon, he can be correct only so far as decorative work was concerned, such as that which called out the remark, on the façade of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi; for in this class of work the correctness of drawing was of minor importance, while the vividness of the color throughout the composition was all-important. But the work of Titian, as well as that of the painters of the central schools, is full of evidence that they did not paint directly from nature, but from a carefully prepared study, probably in monochrome; and in the case of portraits the system of Titian, and possibly of the school of Venice in general, seems to have been

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to get the likeness in monochrome and then to put in the color according to a system as settled as that of the Tuscans, but utterly different as to technique. That the neglect of the previous preparation of cartoons was not the rule in Titian's work is clear from various data which chance has given us. When working with assistants in fresco, the work on the wall must have been left to them, and the only part the master could take was that of the preparation of the design for tracing on the wall. The use of oils led, no doubt, to a much greater latitude in the preliminary operations, and permitted the painter to complete his design directly on the canvas in the modern manner, and so omit the preparation of the cartoon; but that this was the rule it is impossible to believe, for the rarity of changes in the composition of a work during progress—changes which can always be more or less easily discovered in the finished picture—indicates that the subject was put on the canvas in its final form.[1] This definiteness of preparation in compositions of such complexity would have been impossible without a cartoon. And the fact that we have no more evidence of the practice of Bellini of making a cartoon, which he must have done while working in tempera, makes the argument of little weight in reference to Titian. I suspect, therefore, that Vasari's dictum grew out of occasional and exceptional work, which, even exceptionally, would not have been possible in tempera, the medium of the painters before Titian.

We have already seen that Bellini introduced an amount of individuality in the heads of his sacred personages which was not found as a rule or admitted as orthodox in the earlier Tuscan schools; and this characteristic is found in all the Venetian schools, and became the foundation of its greatness in portraiture. The visit of Albert Dürer to Venice in 1506 does not seem to have affected Titian, though it may have had a slight influence on Bellini; nor does Titian ever appear to have been much influenced in the tendencies of his art by any of the foreign schools. There seems to have been a deep-rooted individualism in the Venetian race, which, with

[1] I suspect that Titian's practice was to paint from a small paper sketch, and not from a large cartoon. He must, however, have painted much from life and from the usual small studies, much in the modern way. The student will remember the portrait study of Philip II. seated, from which probably most of the others were done. This was painted, apparently, without glazing, and the traces which appear to be such are probably due to re-touching and varnish. There is the picture at Vienna in which he has turned the Virgin's head completely round after putting the subject on the panel, and there are evidences of important "pentimenti" in the "Bacchus and Ariadne" and some others. C. F. MURRAY.

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the strong naturalistic tendency, kept the art of Venice from being invaded by that of the southern provinces; but even this does not account for the powerful grasp of the most subtile and difficult problem in all art—that of the true relations of color to design. The intercourse of Venice with the East, and familiarity with eastern products, always so naïve and poetic in their use of color, probably had much to do with it; but there must have been something in the temperament which made the ground propitious to the development of the color sense, for the men of the central Italian schools, even when they had the work of Titian and Giorgione before them, never understood the mystery and never caught the true color feeling. They learned to paint with more warmth and fidelity to nature, but the essential motive of Venetian color was orchestral (to borrow a word from the sister art of music), and this was never apprehended by the Tuscans. This quality is found in the work of Bellini, and was extended by Titian and Giorgione; it is seen in individual forms in Tintoretto, Veronese, Bassano, and others of the time, and appears in a fantastic and artificial development in Tiepolo, who was the last of the great colorists. The date of the new departure from the restraint in which Bellini held the system was probably that of the work of Giorgione and Titian on the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, in decorative work which was freed from the conventional limitations. This was in 1507–08. After that time there was a period of turmoil and great political vicissitudes in which at the last Venice was worsted, and the records of the time are full of more important matters than art. In 1511 we learn that Titian was at work at the school of Padua with Campagnola, who was his assistant. He returned to Venice in 1512, and in the following year he appears as the applicant for an order for a battle-piece for the council hall and for the first vacancy as broker at the Fondaco, a privilege already accorded to Bellini and Carpaccio. In the mean time he had received and declined an invitation to go to Rome to work for the pope, and at the death of Bellini he became his successor in the brokership and in the office of portrait-painter to the doges. In 1517 he went to Ferrara at the call of Alphonso d'Este, and for him painted several pictures, of which part are now in various public and private collections. From this time Titian was occupied in work for various royal and princely clients until 1523, when he returned to Venice to paint the portrait of a new doge, Andrea Gritti. Of this time is

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the fresco over a landing of the Ducal Palace—"St. Christopher Carrying the Christ-child"—which still remains in not too damaged a condition to be judged as an example of his fresco work. About this time he married, and in 1530 was a widower with three children.

In 1532 the artist is called to Bologna to paint Charles V., who had come there to meet the pope. This call—which he obeyed, one can imagine, with a satisfaction meet for the occasion, for he was avid of honors and noble relations—was important to his after life. He became the painter to the emperor, and shared his friendship, which, if we may believe the chronicles, was more to his pecuniary advantage indirectly than directly, for the emperor was a heedless paymaster; but the relation led him to Rome, where he was charged with various commissions and made the acquaintance of Michelangelo and the works of Raphael and the Greeks. But though much has been said of his having been influenced by the great Tuscan, I cannot find evidence of it in his work. Titian and his great contemporary, Michelangelo, greater intellectually than he, had little in common except the love of art. The combination of their forms of art was impossible. Titian was then sixty-nine years old, and had a mastery of his own form of art which was as much beyond that of Michelangelo in painting as the latter was above the Venetian in his creative power in pure form as we see it in his sculpture. Michelangelo might envy the color of Titian and desire to add it to his design, as he is said to have attempted to do through Sebastiano del Piombo; but to imitate the color of Titian it was necessary to have the Venetian temperament, which could not be assumed for an imitation. It is impossible that Titian should have been influenced by the Tuscan's color, and he drew well enough to give any degree of refinement he aimed at. But the naturalism inherent in the genius of Venice rejected the ideal forms of Michelangelo, and was indifferent to the creations of antiquity. Vasari says that he went to the Belvedere, where Titian was painting in Rome, to accompany Michelangelo on a visit to the painter. They saw the "Danaë," and, as Vasari reports, the sculptor said of Titian "that his color pleased him, but that it was a fault that at Venice they did not first of all learn to draw well; for if this man were assisted by art as he is by nature, especially in imitating life, it would not be possible to surpass him, for he has the finest talent and a very pleasant, vivacious manner."

This expression may be taken as the demonstration of Michel-

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angelo's one-sided estimate of art. He could not admit that color required the same profound study and was capable of as great exaltation and artistic refinement as design. His feeling and powers were those of the sculptor, and color was merely the accident of nature. What art gave, to his way of thinking, was the mastery of design, the faculty of carrying the imperfect material with which nature furnished the artist up to the ideal, as one saw it in the work of the Greeks and as he tried to carry it in his own; beyond this, or compared with this, art had no aims other than subsidiary. Titian's comparative indifference to the perfection of his forms seemed to Michelangelo ignorance of art; the former may have felt, if only as an incidental charm, the dignity of the types of his great rival, but if so, it produced no permanent influence on his art.

Titian remained at Rome only a year, and in 1547 he was summoned to Augsburg to the emperor, who was in his glory, and wished to secure its record. Of this visit many portraits of the great or noble men about the emperor were the fruits, of which some remain. Titian's court life was brilliant and, what was not always the case, profitable, and he returned to Venice much the richer, but always greedy of wealth and ready to adopt any form of servility to improve his estate. He was ready to kiss the hands or even the feet of the potentates who held the keys of success, and to beg or petition for places for his son or commissions for himself. In 1549 he was back in Venice, and returned to the imperial court at Augsburg again in 1550. His life from this time forward is little else than a succession of honors and triumphs. Vasari wrote his notice during the artist's life, and after having visited him in Venice. He says:

When the present writer was in Venice in 1566 he went to visit Titian, and found him, old as he was, with his brush in his hand painting, and he found great pleasure in seeing his works and talking with him.

Of his work Vasari says:

It is true that his way of working in his last pictures is very different from that of his youth. For his first works were finished with great diligence and might be looked at near or far, but the last are executed with masses of color so that they cannot be seen near; but at a distance they look perfect. This is the reason that many think they are done without any trouble, but this is not true. And this way of working is very effective, for it makes the pictures seem living. . . . He has been most healthy and as fortunate as any one has ever been; in his house at Venice he has received all the princes, all the learned and famous men who came there, for besides his greatness

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in art he has the most pleasant and courteous manners. He has had some rivals, but not very dangerous ones, and has earned much, his work being always well paid, so that it would be well for him in these last years of his life to work only for his pleasure lest he should injure his reputation.

This glimpse of the painter at work in the fullness of his reputation, having, as Vasari says, painted every lord of note or prince or great lady, gives an idea of him which is delightful in its naïveté and suggestiveness, and the delicate bit of advice (the painter was still living when the book was printed) not to do what the critic evidently thought he was doing—sacrifice the quality of his work to the haste to get his orders executed—is significant.

Titian succeeded to the favor of Philip on the death of Charles, who seems more anxious on his entry into sovereignty to pay his father's debts to Titian than he was in later years to pay his own, for we have Titian's letters appealing for payment for the pictures he had painted for the emperor, and in the last year of his life (1576) he recalls to Philip the work of the past twenty years, for which he had not been paid. The end of his life, as he died alone of plague, is not pleasant to contemplate, and the last phase of his art shows that he had outpainted his reputation. There is always Titian in it, but Titian feeble and with tremulous hand, failing to respond to the call of the will, and the sense of color fading. There has lately been discovered, by Signor Cavalcaselle, a half-length, nearly profile St. Jerome of the artist's extreme old age, a picture of peculiar interest, for it has the likeness of himself as the Saint, in devotion over a crucifix. We recognize the mighty sweep of the brush and the clear intention, but the brush trembles and the line vacillates, as it does in the master's latest work at Venice. This work is often spoken of as the evidence that his powers were unenfeebled when he painted it, but to me it shows the failing of eye and hand alike. The tints are hot, and the impasto tremulous, the composition labored, and inspiration wanting. As the work of one who was almost a centenarian it is amazing, but as that of Titian only a lesson. Of no other painter has it ever been said that he painted ninety years, and when we look at it in that light it becomes a miracle.

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NOTE TO THE LIFE OF TITIAN

THE following passage from Boschini (Ricche minere della pittura Venetiana, di Marco Boschini: Venezia, MDCLXXIV) will prove of interest to those who care for the ancient methods of painting, as Boschini was a friend of Palma Giovine, and near enough to Titian's age to have seen him paint, though, as he does not say that he did, this is not to be presumed. At all events, he certainly was able to learn all that Titian's pupils and personal circle could tell of his ways. He says: "Giacomo Palma the young [so called to distinguish him from the other Giacomo Palma, called the elder], who had the good fortune to enjoy the instruction of Titian, assured me that he toned down his pictures with such a quantity of colors that they served [so to speak] as a bed or foundation to the expression which he was to elaborate on them; and I have seen bold touches with masses of pigment, sometimes a strip of terra-rossa pure, which served [so to speak] as middle tint; at other times with a brush full of white, and with, on the same brush, a tint of red, of black, and of yellow, he formed the modeling of a light and shade, and in this manner he brought out in four touches the indication of a fine figure. And in every respect such ways of laying in delighted those best acquainted with the manner of working technical processes, and desirous of learning the best way to venture on the ocean of painting. After having prepared these precious under-paintings, he turned the canvas to the wall and left it there sometimes for months without seeing it, and when he wished to take it up again he examined it with great care, as it were one of his worst enemies, to see if he could find in it any defect; and if he found anything that did not agree with his intention, as a benevolent surgeon he reduced the protuberances and excesses of flesh, straightening an arm, etc., and so working, and reforming the figure, he reduced it to the most complete symmetry that was demanded by the beautiful in nature and in art; and then, this all done, he set about another painting till the first was dry, and repeated the operation; and from time to time he covered them with living flesh [here he uses an expression which I cannot explain or understand], *these extracts of the fifth essences*, bringing the work up with repeated repaintings to such a point that only the breath was lacking. Nor ever did he work *alla prima;* and he used to say that he who sings, improvising, can never make scholarly verses, nor well polished. But the perfection of these last repaintings came at last when from time to time he united the lights with touches of his finger, bringing them near the middle tints, working one tint into another; at another time with a smear of the finger he put a passage of dark into the corners to strengthen them, besides certain touches of red, as it were a drop of blood which strengthened some superficial quality; and so he went on bringing his figure to perfection. And Palma assured me positively that in the finishing he painted more with his finger than with brushes."

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Chapter XXXII

GIORGIONE (GIORGIO BARBARELLI)

(Born 1477 ?, died 1511)

Of the painter who in his own time, or at least in the years immediately succeeding his death, was reckoned the most brilliant of his school and generation, we know so little by actual record of his life, and even have so little of his work authenticated satisfactorily, that he appears only as a splendid reflection of his contemporary renown. Of the numerous pictures attributed to him in the various galleries of Europe, and the few still in churches in Italy claimed for him by local tradition, there is only one of which the authorship rests on secure evidence. This is the Madonna of the church of his native place, Castelfranco. With regard to all others there is the dispute of an interminable doctorate, and the greatest part by far of the so-called Giorgiones are, by the best of the writers on Italian art, Cavalcaselle, relegated to others of the Venetian school, his followers or imitators. The determining of the Giorgionesque standard is, therefore, one of the generalizations in which the largest range of study of the painting of the epoch and the most minute knowledge of the technical characters of it are necessary, and these acquirements are too rare to be admitted to self-assertion. I have them not; and, so far as I can follow the writers on Italian art, Cavalcaselle seems to me the only one who has a right to be considered as a definite authority.[1] He gives a list[2] which is

[1] Morelli seems to me curiously fantastic in his attribution of pictures to Giorgione, and most of the German commentators are scarcely more secure. W. J. S.

[2] I do not accept Cavalcaselle's list of Giorgione pictures as far as the two Uffizi panels of the "Ordeal of Moses" and the "Judgment of Solomon" are concerned, and I doubt the portrait engraved by Cole, which is, however, a very fine head, and might well be taken for his. Cavalcaselle also is very doubtful about this. There are two pictures which Cavalcaselle probably never saw connected with two which he accepts, viz., the Beaumont-Fesch "Nativity" and the

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probably as nearly correct as we are likely to get, and which restores the authorship of at least three fourths of the attributed Giorgiones to their actual painters. The record is stupefying, not only as showing how little the critical world had studied the question, but for the data of works known to have been painted by Giorgione and of which no trace can now be found. But the Castelfranco picture, restored as it has been repeatedly, is still, so far as its general characteristics are concerned, and the characteristics of its landscape especially, distinctly enough individualized to permit one to say that though Giorgione has the reputation of being the master of Titian, he is far more certainly the pupil of Bellini, in whose work are clearly the roots of all that either Titian or Giorgione has done.

We do not know certainly when Giorgione was born. Vasari says in 1477, but Cavalcaselle says that he was certainly born before that year, Titian having been born in 1480 according to Vasari, and in 1477 to Ridolfi. What is probably indisputable is that the two were nearly of the same age and were at the same time in the studio of Giovanni Bellini, where the precocity of Giorgione was such as to impress on his time the idea that he led Titian in art, and that Titian went into his studio after leaving that of Bellini—a version of their relations which, with all deference to Cavalcaselle, who accepts it, I do not recognize as having a sufficient basis of authority either in what we know of their art or in what we have of tradition. In the work which they did together on the Fondaco in Venice, the purely decorative element of chief importance may, as I have said in the sketch of Titian, have taken, in the precocious manner of Giorgione, so great a predominance that, from the perception of something new in the function of color decoration as seen in his work, Titian was led to adopt it and to emulate his fellow-student in the employment of broad masses of color without much attention to the drawing and rendering of detail. This method of securing a decorative effect is what the description of Vasari would lead us

Miles "Adoration" in the National Gallery. These two new pictures are the "Enthroned King and Attendants," in the National Gallery, and a "Nativity" belonging to Mr. Benson. This last is the counterpart of the Beaumont picture in every quality of drawing, execution, and color. I should say that it is one of the most authentic. Sir F. W. Burton also accepts it. The Castelfranco picture, the study in the National Gallery for the St. Liberalis, the Vienna "Astrologer," Mr. Beaumont's "Nativity," and the Giovanelli "Figures in a Landscape" have a common character, and from these all others must be judged. Amongst my prints I have a "Peace," probably engraved in the seventeenth century from one of the Fondaco frescos. Nothing seems known of this print, which is possibly unique, certainly very rare. It ought to be reproduced. C. F. MURRAY.

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to consider the Giorgionesque ideal of wall-painting for exteriors, and thus to have given rise to the tradition that Titian adopted the style of his companion; but that the style of Titian in his mature and indisputable work has any trace of derivation from that of Giorgione as seen in the Castelfranco picture, or is anything but the logical derivation from the work and example of Giovanni Bellini, I am not disposed to admit. If Giorgione taught Titian, he also taught Bellini before Titian, for the manner of the latter is only the enlargement and liberation of that of the master from whom the two pupils took all that they have in common.

Castelfranco is a little city of the plain of Treviso, as unlike Cadore, Titian's birthplace, as one spot in Italy can be unlike another; and as in Titian's pictures the hills about the road from Cadore to Venice give a type to the backgrounds of his pictures, so the alluvial plain of Castelfranco, to a certain extent, might be expected to furnish the clue to the authorship of Giorgione's pictures. Cavalcaselle in several cases points out the nature of the landscape as testimony of the authorship of the composition; but in the Castelfranco picture, curiously enough, the background, a delicious bit of sunshine and space, is a scene on the sea-coast, and does not in the least resemble anything in the vicinity of Castelfranco. The family of Barbarelli was one of importance in the country, but Giorgio was an illegitimate son of one of them by a peasant girl, and was recognized by the family only when his glory as a painter had made him an honor to it; and in an epitaph of the old church, preserved only in contemporary documents, the painter is recorded with two of his seniors, in 1638, not the date of his death, but that at which his reputation had induced the family to admit his relation to it. This, with the fact that he died of plague in 1511, is all that we know of the facts of his life, except those which belong to his artistic existence. Tradition reports that he died of grief at the infidelity of his mistress, who deserted him for his disciple Luzzi; but a grief that had to be assisted by the plague in order to kill its victim may be considered at least apocryphal. That he died of sensual excesses is another tradition to be shunted off the track of historical research, for the traditions so far as they are positive, and all the early authorities, agree that he died of plague.

Of the other pictures which are accepted by all the critics, and as to which Cavalcaselle makes no question, the chief, after the Madonna of Castelfranco, is "The Concert" of the Pitti Gallery, Flor-

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ence. The rival subject of the Louvre is attributed by Cavalcaselle to a follower of Sebastiano del Piombo. In one of my first visits to Venice I remember seeing a fragment of one of the frescos of Giorgione on the Fondaco, but I believe it has now utterly perished; it was then only a shadow. Zanetti, an early author, speaking of these frescos, says that he finds admirable in Giorgione the quickness and resolution with which action is rendered, the artifice with which light and shade are broken, blended, and distributed; but in Titian's work he admires the firmness and strength of the half-tones, the simplicity of contrasts, the tenderness of flesh-tints, and the moderation which avoids the fire of Giorgione, while it abstains from dark shadows and exaggerated redness of the flesh. This proves at least that Titian was not an imitator of Giorgione in the particular work as to which the adoption of Giorgione's style by Titian was affirmed, and strengthens my distrust of the judgment formulated by Vasari, that Titian ever became the pupil or follower of Giorgione.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

ONE of the finest and most magnificent conceptions of a half-length portrait is seen in the "Knight of Malta." It hangs in the Uffizi, is painted on canvas, life-size, and is rich and glowing in color.

June 4, 1891.—At Uffizi as usual, at work on the "Knight of Malta." What an inspiration to have so fine a thing at one's elbow to gaze upon from time to time! How glaring are the retouchings of the restorer! What a heavy-handed bungler he must have been! Giorgione floats his hair into the flesh in the most refined manner imaginable; but here are retouchings that look as though the restorer used the blunt end of a stick with which to put on the color.

June 9.—What an air of magnanimity and true greatness breathes from this canvas! No other artist knows better than Giorgione how to captivate the mind and to hold the imagination with so few means. Here is a man holding a string of beads. I hear some Americans behind me exclaim, "Here 's a grand head!" How it puts to shame all petty worrying and narrow-mindedness! There is something Christ-like about it in its calm benignity. Now I vow I will endeavor to aim at greater simplicity and nobleness in my living—to think of the "Knight of Malta," to put away all meanness and triviality by a thought of the "Knight of Malta."

The detail of St. Liberalis is taken from Giorgione's famous altarpiece of the "Madonna and Child Enthroned," in the choir of the cathedral of Castelfranco. The entire picture measures 6 feet 6 inches in height by 4 feet 10 inches in width, and is painted on wood. The Virgin, with the Child in her lap, sits enthroned upon a high pedestal above the middle of the picture, and a charming landscape stretches away from her. Be-

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neath her, one at each side of the pedestal, stand St. Francis and St. Liberalis, the latter clad in shining armor, and holding a flag. It is this figure which forms the detail engraved. Part of the flagstaff is seen. These figures are separated from the background by a wall on each side of the pedestal, which appears to be covered smoothly with red velvet, very rich and deep in color. The pedestal rises just above the heads of the figures, and forms a fine relief to the gray habit of the monk and the burnished steel of the knight; no doubt, too, it contributes much to the soft, airy feeling of the lovely, quiet landscape. The Virgin above, sweet and serene, gazes down abstractedly. Instead of the conventional red and blue, she is clad in green and red — charming, rich, and harmonious colors. The Child, too, looks down thoughtfully. The flesh-tints of both are warm and mellow, and contrast delightfully with their draperies. A rich green embroidered tapestry falls from beneath the Virgin over the warm gray marble of the pedestal. The plinth of the pedestal is of a warm neutral purplish tone, upon which, in a circle of light, warm marble, are sculptured the arms of the family — the Constanzi — for whom the picture was painted. The floor is checkered with gray and light, warm marble. This is the least satisfactory portion of the picture. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the painting has been restored on several occasions. G. G. Lorenzi went so far as to paint a beard to St. Liberalis. Paolo Fabris of Venice removed the beard and many of the oldest repaints.

St. Liberalis is patron of Castelfranco and Treviso. He is usually shown as clad in armor, young, with flowing locks, and his attribute is the flag — red, with large white cross, and sometimes with four white stars at each corner of the flag.

The St. Liberalis of this picture is said to be the portrait of a young man of the Constanzi family who died in battle, and this picture was dedicated to the Madonna in his memory. His tomb is seen in the churchyard adjoining the cathedral, and, although much worn by the elements, his effigy still resembles the figure in the painting, though it is of severer aspect.

While I was seated in the Pitti Gallery engraving from "The Concert," by Giorgione, two young ladies came by, and each began her respective explanation of the picture. Said the first: "Oh, what a glow of inspiration is in the player's face! He has struck a heavenly chord, which so moves his friend from behind that he drops his violin, and tenderly approaches, exclaiming, 'O brother, brother! how grand! how glorious!'"

"Now," said her friend, "I should think that his violin got out of tune, or that a string broke, and he approaches him reluctantly, and lays his hand on his shoulder so very gently, for he is sorry to disturb him, so thoroughly wrapt in the music is he."

This was quite ignored by the former, who continued in the same ecstatic strain as before. Then the father came up, and, his opinion being asked, he said: "You see, the guide-book says that these are the portraits of Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon. Now you know Luther struck the first chord — in the reformation; Calvin joined in the concert; and Melanchthon, he — he — stood by listening. But if you will listen to me — this is only another version of the 'Three Ages of Man.' There you see the young man with the plume in his hat, in all the pride of expectant youth; the middle-aged man playing is already in the thick of the concert of life; and the old man behind finds his violin out of tune — he is not exactly in accordance with the order of the age."

They go away, and another party take their place.

"Do you see," says a lady to her companion, "that old priest there with the

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violin? Does n't he look the picture of the old monk we saw in the lager-beer saloon! Well, I declare, I would n't cart that painting home with me; no, not if it was given me! Ugh! what an ugly thing! Come away."

"The Concert," an engraving of which faces this page, hangs in the Hall of the Iliad of the Pitti Gallery, and measures 3 feet 7 inches in height by 4 feet 1 inch in width. This was one of the works of art cut out of its original frame and taken to Paris in the days of Napoleon. Old engravings of it show a different setting on the canvas, giving more space to the bottom and sides, and less to the top. The instrument in the monk's hand appears to be a lute. The garment of the one at the harpsichord, instead of being quiet and simple, as at present, is cut up with a variety of folds, surmounted by a cape. No doubt the details of this garment would be visible if the picture was cleaned of its thick mantle of varnish. In my engraving I have cut off a portion of the unnecessary background at the top, and am thus enabled to give the heads larger, and make a full-page block of it. Its original line of definition appears to have cut off a portion of the plume. When the picture was restored to Italy, the rest of the plume and the high background were added; but this high background is not in accordance with Giorgione's style, nor in the manner of his time.

In coloring it is warm and effective. How magnificent it is in composition! The head of the player is remarkable for expression; the open eye and the dilated nostril show a soul surcharged with the music. He turns abstractedly in response to the soft touch on his shoulder. The hands, too, are fine in their grip of the keys. They are not light notes, but solid, full chords.

T. C.

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Chapter XXXIII

LORENZO LOTTO

(Born 1480?, died 1554?)

There is absolutely no record known of the birth of Lorenzo Lotto, one of the most important of the second-rate painters of the Venetian school, and remarkable for the range of his emulations rather than for genius or individuality. He may be compared to Andrea in the school of Florence, less individual, but more varied in his appreciation and imitation of the masters about him. He began as a follower of the Bellini, later inclined to the style of Palma, then to that of Giorgione, and finally became Titianesque, but with a tinge of Lombard execution underlying his manner. His family was of Bergamo, and his life was passed mostly under the influence of the Venetian school; but he was a great roamer, and though he painted in some of the cities of central Italy, and finally, when his powers as a painter had declined through age, died in the sanctuary of San Loretto, he was on the whole one of the most faithful followers of Titian whose works are left us. Cavalcaselle says of him: "It is easy to be enthusiastic about Lotto's talent; he had a very fine feeling for color; he became a master of foreshortening and modeling; he studied action in its most varied forms, and rendered it with unaccustomed daring; expression in every

Note. A very recent publication, "I dipinti di Lorenzo Lotto nell' Oratorio Suardi in Trescore Balneario; Bergamo, 1891," gives some details of the life of the painter not known to me when the above article was written. The discovery of his will, dated 1546, gives his age at that time as sixty-six, so that he must have been born in 1480. He lived some years after the date of his will, but there is no record of his death. Morelli says that it took place about 1556, on what evidence does not appear. The frescos which are in the Suardi Chapel were commissioned by Battista Suardi, ancestor of the Counts Suardi of Bergamo (from which city the chapel is distant about nine miles), and his wife and sister. They show the influence of Mantegna, and are of a noble order of work, strongly religious in feeling, with admirable decorative qualities. W. J. S.

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mood—expression roguish, tender, earnest, solemn, he could depict them all. But there was one thing lacking in his pictorial organism—he lacked the pure originality of genius and independent power." To put it in fewer words, he lacked imagination, without which there is no great individuality. A man may contrive a new manner, but a genuine style cannot spring from imitations or determination to be original, but is the expression of the personality, which can be told in art only by the presence of creative power—that is, imagination. Lotto's styles were many, but none of them his own; he was a reflex of whichever painter of genius at the time had absorbed him. He was a painter of enormous fertility, and as a portrait-painter is considered in the aggregate of his production inferior only to Titian, among all the painters of the generation succeeding his. Some of the pictures which are now conclusively assigned to him are among those long attributed to Giorgione. To that number belongs the example painted after Lotto had fallen under the influence of the brilliant genius of Castelfranco. (See engraving facing page 254.)

With this general technical mastery of the art of painting, in which few of his time surpassed him, and the want of a strong and individual inspiration in the conception of subject, it might be expected that a man growing up in art under the conditions of life at Venice would become a successful portrait-painter, and this was, in fact, the capacity in which he rendered his best service to the ages following his own. In this vein of art he had few superiors, and none except the half-dozen leading masters just preceding him. There is at Hampton Court a portrait, long attributed to Correggio, but now known to be by Lotto, of a gentleman in a fur pelisse, seated at a table with fragments of antique sculpture near him; he holds a statuette in his right hand, and on the table are a book and some coins. Cavalcaselle considers it the portrait of the contemporary connoisseur Andrea Odoni, and says of it:

> There is hardly a masterpiece of this time more deserving of praise than this half-length for warmth and fluid touch, for transparence of color, and freedom of handling. It has the qualities of softness and brilliance combined with excessive [exceeding ?] subtlety in modeling, and tenderness of transitions.

And again he says:

> There are few masters of the time, if we except Titian, of whom we possess so many and such masterly portraits. That some of these should be attributed to Gior-

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gione, others to Leonardo, and others again to Titian and Pordenone is one of the natural consequences of a versatile manner. In one of the best single figures under Pordenone's name at the Borghese palace, we have the semblance of a stout, florid man in grand attire, whose turn of thought is possibly illustrated by a hand resting on a death's-head concealed by flowers. St. George tilts at a dragon in a landscape seen through a window. We do not meet with a finer or more dignified pose in any of Titian's canvases, nor do we know of any other example in which Lotto so nearly approached Vecelli. The treatment is broad and powerful; the color, in its warm and golden transparence, is fluid, and modeled with perfect blending.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE "Three Ages of Man" is in the Hall of Saturn of the Pitti Gallery, Florence. It is painted on wood, and measures 26 inches in height by 31¾ inches in width. Though much retouched, it is still a fine example of Venetian coloring. The background is a rich, deep, dark color; the flesh-tints are mellow and glowing. The garment of the old man is of a rich, soft cardinal. The color of the boy's garment is a purplish maroon; his scarf is scarlet, not brilliant, but soft and rich. His cap is black, from beneath which flow his dark locks. The garment of the young man is a soft, delicious green. How vain to describe these harmonious colors! His hair is brown, imperceptibly softening into the background, after the manner of Giorgione. Indeed, in its breadth and softness of treatment, the whole thing reminds me of Giorgione. How charming it is in sentiment, and in the perfection of its arrangement! I like the way in which the beautiful boy, with his gay scarf, is brought into contrast with the stern, bald old man. The painting of the old man's head is wonderful in its deftness of execution and its subtleness of treatment. The characteristics of age are in every touch, while there is that breadth of handling that bespeaks the consummate master.

T. C.

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Chapter XXXIV

BERNARDINO LUINI

(Born ——, died 1533 ?)

It is a curious commentary on the artistic discrimination of the sixteenth century that one of the sweetest of its painters was so unknown in his own day that there is no record of his birth or of his death. We know so little of Luini's life and circumstances that if we would have a biography, we must construct one from the internal evidence of his works. The first signed picture is a Madonna in the Brera Gallery of Milan, of 1521, and this seems to mark a point of departure, and serves to divide hypothetically his unripened work from that by which we estimate his powers. He has always been considered a pupil of Da Vinci, but we have no other evidence of this than the character of his work. Only six of his pictures are dated, moreover, so that we have hardly the data for an authoritative classification of them. The singular and salient fact of Luini's artistic existence is that for so many years he was so completely confounded with Da Vinci that there are more of his pictures which have passed for the work of Leonardo than we have of Leonardo's own.[1] It is possible that the fixing of his style in 1521 was a consequence of his having come into contact with Da Vinci. That he did actually profit by the instruction of the master is most probable, for the similarity of technique which has been the cause of the confusion between the two painters could hardly have come merely

1 The number of pictures formerly ascribed to Da Vinci, but by the later researches authoritatively assigned to Luini, leaves very few authenticated examples of Leonardo. One of the principal works thus transferred is the so-called "Modesty and Vanity," of the Sciarra Gallery in Rome (recently carried to Paris), long considered one of Leonardo's *chefs-d'œuvre*, but now given with absolute certainty to Luini. The confusion seems to have arisen at a very early date, and the scientific examination in such matters is only of our own day. W. J. S.

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from a general impression of the elder painter's work. Studio traditions are to be acquired only in the studio; and Da Vinci had so many pupils that Luini and many others might easily escape mention. In that region and time the genius of the master so overshadowed all other talent or reputation that a man in poor circumstances, and of obscure position, such as Luini, would hardly attract the attention of a society accustomed to brilliant achievement and showy qualities, to which Luini never attained. His tender sentiment and delicate drawing are not of the kind of art which attracts the careless observer, and that his work has come down almost to our own day without the distinction it merits is the best proof that he was not of those who catch the public eye at any period.

The work supposed to be his earliest is in the Brera Gallery and the Royal Palace, Milan; it consists of a number of fragments of frescos from the Casa Pelucca near Monza. They are mostly subjects from the Old Testament, but there is a series of mythological subjects, as "Apollo and Daphne," etc. The frescos of Sta. Maria della Pace, which are now in the Brera, or in the Museum of Archæology, are supposed by Mongeri to have been painted about 1524, and to be the next in order to those of the Casa Pelucca, as they show the painter's peculiarities of style, while those of the former series vary so much as to have given the idea to Cavalcaselle that they were painted in coöperation with Suardi, whose children and those of Luini (the latter had three sons who became painters) painted in much the same manner. Luini was a poor man with a large family, and executed a very great number of works, those of the earlier period being mostly, so far as distinguishable, in fresco, and, whether from haste, as a result of being poorly paid, or from being carried out by pupils, of very unequal execution. But he was capable of very rapid work; thus the "Flagellation" in the Ambrosiana, a fresco occupying one side of the chapter hall, was begun in October, 1521, and finished in March of the next year. The "Flagellation" occupies the center, with portraits of six donors on each side, all marked examples of portraiture.

After 1522 Luini was called out of Milan to work, and painted in Legnano an altarpiece in fifteen compartments. In 1525 he was invited to paint in the church of the Blessed Virgin of Saronno, near Milan, where he worked in company with Gaudenzio and two

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other painters; and on his return to Milan he was commissioned by the Bentivogli, the dethroned lords of Bologna, to paint the partition wall of the church of St. Maurizio, by which they wished to show, in their exile from their own realm, their recognition of the hospitality of their kinsmen the Sforzas. One of the subjects is St. Benedict leading Alessandro Bentivoglio to the altar, and another is St. Agnes performing the same office for his wife, who was Hippolyta Sforza. In the cloister of the church he painted a series of pictures from the Passion, of which the Crucifixion was in oil. From Milan he went again, in 1529, to Lugano, where he painted a Passion, in which the principal scenes of the Agony are enacted in the background while the Crucifixion takes place in the foreground. Dohme considers the figures of the Magdalene and St. John to be among the finest in Italian art. Here the painter introduces in the character of a centurion the supposed portrait of himself, and as the same head occurs in another picture, the "Adoration," at Saronno, Dohme very reasonably accepts it as the authentic portrait, rejecting the traditional portrait in the "Christ among the Doctors," in the church of the Blessed Virgin of Saronno. There is record of his painting at Lugano in 1529–30 and in 1533, and the last date is the latest indication of the existence of the painter.

Ruskin deserves the credit of having been one of the earliest to give Luini full justice. He considers him a better draftsman than Da Vinci, but this is a judgment the justice of which depends on definitions. If we are to take into consideration all the qualities of the artistic expression of form, it cannot be maintained, and in subtlety of line alone it can hardly be held, for when he had a form to follow no one could surpass Da Vinci; but in the feeling for beauty of line and tender expression coupled with subtle drawing, I believe that Luini justifies the praise of the critic.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

LUINI is seen at his best in Milan, where are found his latest works—those of his third, or "blond," manner, in which he attains his fullest strength and independence. The church of Monastero Maggiore, formerly St. Maurizio, is a very temple of his art.

Luini's "blond" manner is a warmer and less heavy style of coloring than he had previously practised; the name does not imply that his frescos are any more blond, generally speaking, than those of any other artist.

The detail given, St. Apollonia, is part

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of one of the painter's most beautiful single-figure pieces, a fresco to the right of the high altar in the church of Monastero Maggiore. I was much struck with the grace and ease of the pose; but the beauty of the face, so tender and full of emotion, made me wish to engrave this part alone. I have made, however, a three-quarter length, thus giving the head larger than it would have been had I done the whole figure, as well as showing the composition of the principal motive. Much of the expression of a face is necessarily lost in engraving it on a small scale on wood.

The attribute of St. Apollonia is a pair of pincers holding a tooth, in allusion to the torture she suffered in having all her teeth extracted previously to being burned. She is the patron saint of sufferers from toothache. Besides the pincers, she holds the book as significant of her learning, and she bears the martyr's palm.

The fresco measures 6 feet high by 2 feet 7 inches wide. To appreciate the full value of the coloring one must get within the altar-railing; for the effect of the slanting light from without causes a delicate purple bloom to suffuse the whole of the surface, and this, though very beautiful, conveys a false impression. I had not suspected anything wrong until I got within the railing, when I found that the underrobe, which I had taken to be of a charming purple hue, was in fact dark brown. In like manner the other colors were more or less affected. The sleeve of the saint is pea-green, of a light, delicate, lively tone, soft and very pleasant to the eye. Her mantle, which falls over her shoulder, is of a bright orange, yet neutralized to harmonize delightfully with the rest. The lining of this mantle, turned up by the elbow, is of a soft, neutral tone of blue. The lining of the robe falling beneath the arm is of the same tone of blue, but its exterior is of a fine crimson, softened and glowing. A portion of this robe falls over the left shoulder, displaying its lining of soft blue. The cover of the book is green. The background of the whole is of a soft, dark sea-green, its inner square of a soft blackish tone tinged delicately so as to suggest a reddish feeling. The hair of the saint is of a warm silvery color, and the flesh-tints are soft and warm. The combination of the whole is very delightful and charming. The best way to appreciate the beautiful glow of the picture is to stand at a little distance and to view it through a tube, shutting out all else, and thus concentrating the vision upon it.

T. C.

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Chapter XXXV

VITTORE CARPACCIO

(Born 1440 ?, died 1520 ?)

Carpaccio is one of those masters of the great period of Venetian art about whose lives we know the least. We know that he was born in Istria, then one of the possessions of Venice; and we first hear of him as a painter in connection with Lazzaro Bastiani (of whom Vasari makes two persons, brothers of Carpaccio), who was a member of the school of S. Girolamo, in Venice, in 1470. It is a rational conjecture that as the two were friends so close as to be reported by Vasari to be brothers, they were of approximately the same age and could hardly have been admitted painters earlier than thirty. As Cavalcaselle points out, Carpaccio's later works show the decay of his powers, and were painted about 1519; so he may be accepted as having lived till 1520, and to have died at a ripe age, which, for want of any clue, we may guess to be eighty. We have no more precise indications of the date of either his birth or his death. He was a pupil of the elder Vivarini, and afterward of Giovanni Bellini. He is reported to have accompanied Gentile Bellini to Constantinople, to which experience may be attributed his fondness for Oriental costumes in his pictures. The great series of subjects from the life of St. Ursula, now in the Academy at Venice, which gives the best as well as the most favorable conception of his work, was executed after 1490. The series of pictures in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, which Ruskin has brought into great prominence in the history of art in Venice, was painted by order of the confraternity of the Hospital of St. George. This confraternity, founded in 1451, received from the prior of the monastery of St. John of Jerusalem a hospice from among the buildings of the priory, and this building having become

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ruinous, the confraternity replaced it by a more splendid one, with a chapel which was completed in 1501, and dedicated to St. George and St. Trifon, a Dalmatian saint and martyr. An early historian of the principality of Montenegro, then the principality of the Zeta, says that its last sovereign, George Cernoievitch, married a noble Venetian lady, who, tired of the bleak seclusion of the rugged home to which she had come, persuaded her husband to return with her to Venice. Accordingly he took up his permanent abode there, and finding no orthodox church in the city, had one built which he dedicated to St. George. His name appears for the last time in the records of Cettinje, the capital of Montenegro, in 1495, and his will exists, dated at Milan in 1499. The association of St. George of the Slavonians and St. Trifon, an orthodox and Slavonic saint, with the avowed purpose of making a refuge for the mariners at Dalmatia, which was then as now mainly an orthodox country in its lower provinces, and the coincidence of times and names, leave no room for doubt that S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni is the church of George Cernoievitch, since it is the only one to which we can refer the data. There had been for generations an alliance between the Zeta and Venice against the Turks. The sea-coast along the part of Dalmatia opposite the Zeta was in the possession of Venice, and the Zetans served as guards to the caravans from the Adriatic across the Balkans to the Black Sea and Trebizond. Before taking a wife from a noble Venetian family, George Cernoievitch had been inscribed in the Golden Book of the nobility of the state.

The pictures in S. Giorgio were painted between 1502 and 1508, in the early portion of Carpaccio's most masterly period; but I cannot agree with Ruskin's laudation of the art in them, considered in relation to the other works of Carpaccio, any more than with what seems to me his extravagant praise of the art of Carpaccio in relation to the rest of Venetian art. Speaking of the "St. George and the Dragon" in the series, and especially of the distant figures of the sultan and his daughter, Ruskin says:

> For truly,—and with hard-earned and secure knowledge of such matters, I tell you, through all this round world of ours, searching what the best life of it has done of brightest in all its times and years,—you shall not find another piece quite the like of that little piece of work, for supreme, serene, unassuming, unfaltering sweetness of painter's perfect art. Over every other precious thing, of such things known to me, it rises in the compass of its simplicity; in being able to gather the perfections of the joy of extreme childhood, and the joy of a hermit's age, with the strength and sunshine of mid-life, all in one. Which is indeed more or less true of all Carpaccio's work and mind; but in this piece you have it set in close jewellery, radiant, inestimable.

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No one can dispute Ruskin's enjoyment of this phase of art, or his right to establish his own standard of art for his own enjoyment and teaching. I can only point out that the standard is one which does not conform to that of the greater experts in art, the painters themselves, or with my view of a healthy definition of art itself. The infirmity of his judgment is further shown in what he says of some little pictures in the church of St. Alvise, which he attributes to Carpaccio, but which the highest living authority in that particular line of judgment,—not only in my opinion but in that of Cavalcaselle, and whose knowledge is even admitted by Mr. Ruskin,—C. F. Murray, distinctly declares to have no trace of the workmanship of Carpaccio beyond the evident imitation of some of his peculiarities of drawing by a follower whose inherent feebleness Ruskin mistakes for the youth of the master. But he says, with that peremptoriness of opinion which leaves no chance of modification, except in confession of ignorance, that "in all these pictures the qualities of Carpaccio are already entirely pronounced; the grace, quaintness, simplicity, and deep intentness on the meaning of incidents." It is true that Crowe and Cavalcaselle enter these pictures in the catalogue of works of Carpaccio, but as "school pictures," a term at which Ruskin inveighs, but which is in precise accordance with the opinion of Mr. Murray. To give the best view of such an extraordinary estimate of the qualities of Carpaccio, I can only say that Ruskin forms his opinion of the painter (and to a great extent of all art) on the quality of story-telling, which I hold is not, properly speaking, the art at all, but is the thought of the man, and is always to be held utterly distinct from the manner in which the story is presented, which is his art.

The "History of St. Ursula" gives higher proof of Carpaccio's preëminence as a story-teller than do the pictures in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni. Though he afterward painted some pictures which are to be ranked higher as art, they are more under the technical influence of the greater painters of the school in which he had his training—a training which, like that of Tintoretto, was interfered with by what must be considered as a refractory originality. He had the Venetian sense of color in a high degree, but in his use of the material he never attained the technical perfection of the secondary masters, such as Palma and Lotto. The telling of his story was evidently more important to him than his technique, and the painting in the Slavonian series is thin and in parts slovenly. What is said of his method by Cavalcaselle, referring to his best work, I ac-

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cept as proof that he had never attained the complete mastery of oils that some of his contemporaries gained. He began like Bellini with tempera, but unlike Bellini he never rid himself of the influence of his original method of working.

That a glowing, ruddy, perhaps uniform tone was habitual to him in these days, is proved by the "Christ at Emmaus" preserved in San Salvatore at Venice, under the name of Giovanni Bellini; a picture in which we neither notice Bellini's types, nor his feeling as a colorist, nor his line as a draughtsman. If we look at the contrasts of tints and their harmony, we detect the art familiar to Carpaccio in pitting one shade against another to make up the chord; there is no subtle agency at work to blend tints together, the flesh is not broken up or varied to produce effect. Warmth, on the contrary, is obtained by an even red film thrown over all, and without partial glazes.

This is the method of a painter whose mastery of the technical appliances is incomplete. A great colorist would never be obliged to complete his harmony by a general glaze warming the entire scheme, this being a rude device to cure a recognized crudeness.

As a story-teller Carpaccio has had no superior in the school of Venice, and perhaps none in Italian art. His imagination is wayward, subtle, full of minute inventions and happy surprises, and his originality is distinct and, in his most matured and characteristic work, almost separates him from the contemporary Venetian art, though in his methods he at times adheres to one or another of the teachers with whom he was associated in his early training. He leaves upon me the impression of an artist in whom the subject had always overpowered the art, in whom invention ran so far ahead of the power of delivery that he had no time to wait for his brush to do its work completely. To the dilettante who studies him completely, and who is not led aside from the intellectual conception by the critical study of methods and technical mastery, he offers more intense satisfaction than some of the greater painters—a satisfaction which I must hold to be apart from the purely artistic standard. It is on this ground that Ruskin does him honor. Living and dying as he did in the midst of a community in which the technical appreciation of art had been fed to the utmost by daily study of the greatest triumphs of color the world has seen, his life and his exit from it, as well as his works, attracted less attention than they merited. Thus it is that we know nothing of Carpaccio personally, and know not when or where he was born and died.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE Carpaccio detail is taken from the large picture in the Venice Academy, which is itself one of a series of nine large works showing scenes from the legend of St. Ursula. The entire picture represents the ambassadors of the King of England before the King of Brittany to prefer their prince's request for the hand of his daughter Ursula. The compartment to the right of the picture, separated from it by a pillar and showing conventionally another room of the palace, is the detail that I have chosen. It is in itself a complete composition, and very charming it certainly is.

Much embarrassed, the king has retired from the council to his private chamber; for he knows that his daughter has made a vow of perpetual chastity and has dedicated herself to Christ, yet he fears to offend the powerful monarch of England by refusing his suit. He has delayed the answer till the morrow, and now sits meditating his reply. He leans his head upon one hand. The other, gloved, still holds the letter of the King of England. While in this mood his daughter Ursula enters, and, learning the cause of his melancholy, bids him be of good cheer, and proceeds to detail to him the conditions under which she will wed the king.

First, he shall give to me as my ladies and companions ten virgins of the noblest blood in his kingdom, and to every one of these a thousand attendants, and to me also a thousand maidens to wait on me. Second, he shall permit me for the space of three years to honor my virginity, and with my companions to visit the holy shrines where repose the bodies of the saints. And my third demand is [we can imagine the maid in the picture as in the act of telling this; for she is touching her third finger] that the king and his court shall receive baptism; for other than a perfect Christian I cannot wed.

The size of the entire work is 8 feet 9½ inches high by 19 feet 3 inches long. That of the detail given is 3 feet 3 inches wide by 5 feet 6 inches high. It is painted on canvas, and is very rich and soft in color. It is broadly and simply treated, though upon close inspection we find it full of the most exquisite detail. The king's robe, for instance, is richly worked in embroidery too delicate to allow of engraving on so small a scale. I have stippled it, and have thus given some impression of its rich effect. It is of a glowing, soft tone of yellow like old gold. This is relieved against the white bedspread and the canopy above, which is of a rich, soft red. The background is warm gray, and appears to be of marble. Through the grating above is seen the ceiling of another room. The Madonna on the wall is enshrined in a yellow frame like gold. The window-casing is of a soft, dull red, the book beneath it of a brighter red, and under all there is a dado of flowers. The head of the princess is relieved against a dark panel. Her complexion and hair are fair. She is clothed in a delicate, soft neutral blue, draped with a mantle of rich bright red. The combination of the whole is most harmonious and pleasing.

St. Ursula is the patroness of young girls, particularly school-girls, and of all women who devote themselves especially to the care and education of their own sex.

T. C.

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Chapter XXXVI

PAUL VERONESE (PAOLO CAGLIARI)

(Born 1528, died 1588)

PAUL VERONESE, the greatest of the decorative painters of the sixteenth century, judged as decorator simply, was born at Verona when Titian was in his prime, and the true art of color had been developed to its highest attainment, while the sister-arts of sculpture and architecture had been carried to a luxuriance which already had begun to stifle the Renaissance, and to produce forms rather artificial than artistic, but which at the same time gave an opportunity for decoration such as the world had not seen since the Roman emperors. Veronese, as he is generally called in our day, was of a family of artists, his father being a sculptor and his uncle a painter. He began as a pupil of the former, but found the art of the latter more to his taste; and his father, impressed, no doubt, by his success in imitating the work of his uncle Badile, put him under the direction of Giovanni Carotto of Verona. Before he was twenty years old he had become an artist of note and recognized promise, and he found in the Cardinal Ercole di Gonzaga his first protector, and his first considerable commissions were executed for Mantua. But enthusiasm for the arts in the grand-ducal family was no longer what it had been in the days of Mantegna. Veronese burned to spread his conceptions over surfaces of a vastness which was not accorded to him in Mantua, and he returned to Verona and undertook the decoration of the villa of the Porti family near Vicenza. Here he had full liberty in choice and treatment of his subjects, and he covered the walls with scenes from mythology and classic history conceived in the pure spirit of the life of his day, in which Venetian gentlemen and ladies with all the picturesque

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paraphernalia of the most brilliant epoch of Italian history hob-nobbed with the gods of Olympus and the worthies of old Rome.

From Vicenza he went to Treviso, then a portion of the Venetian state, where he decorated the Villa Emi at Tanzolo, near by; and here again he filled his space with visions of a resuscitated past masquerading in the garb of Venice. But the City of the Doges was the goal of all artistic ambition of the day, and in 1555 he went there with letters of recommendation to a compatriot, Bernardo Torlioni, prior of the convent of St. Sebastian, who obtained for him from his brotherhood the commission to decorate the sacristy with the "Crowning of the Virgin" and four other subjects, a commission which he fulfilled with such brilliant success that he received a further order for the church of the convent, where he painted the history of Esther. The moment was most favorable for his entry into the capital of the arts. Tintoretto was absorbed in his great undertaking at the School of St. Rochus; and Titian, the supreme authority in matters of art in Venice, who was now growing old, became at once the friend and protector of the newcomer. In 1563 Titian was the foremost to support the claims of Veronese to the award of the decorations of the Library of St. Mark, in the competition which was invited by the council, and in which his protégé gained one of his greatest triumphs. This is the date of the production of the "Marriage Feast at Cana," now in the Louvre. The details of the history of this, which is regarded as the greatest of his pictures, are interesting, as giving us at once an idea of the power of the painter and the value of art at the day of its production. The contract for it was signed on June 6, 1562, and the picture was delivered on September 8, 1563. The canvas and colors were found for him, the convent provided for his subsistence, and promised him a pipe of wine as a bonus, and he was to be paid 324 ducats, the ducat being of the value of three francs. When the difference in the value of the precious metals is estimated, the sum was equivalent to about $1500 to-day.

By this time the reputation of the painter had reached France and Spain, and Louis XIV. made propositions for the purchase of one of his pictures. Upon the "Supper with Simon" the lot fell to be the subject of contention between France and Spain. The picture belonged to the convent of the Servants of the Madonna, who were willing to sell it; but the council interfered, and purchased the picture, which they presented to the King of France, for the law

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of the time forbade the exportation of works of art, which the state regarded as important to the dignity of Venice.

In 1565 Veronese went to Rome; but with all due consideration for the critics who find in his later work the influence of Michelangelo, I cannot see that the art of the southern schools affected that of Veronese more than it had that of Titian. He remained as faithful an interpreter of his surroundings as he had been before the journey, and no factitious ideal of a time gone by ever came in to disturb his vision of the things that constituted his actual world. This is shown by his being called in 1573 before the Inquisition to respond for blasphemy in one of his pictures, a "Last Supper" painted for the friars of St. John and St. Paul, in which he had introduced the customs of his time. A French writer, M. Armand Basquet, in his researches in the archives of Venice, discovered the report of this curious trial. In it the painter is being questioned by the inquisitor:

Q. "What is the signification of the figure of one whose nose is bleeding?"

A. "It is a servant who has met with an accident which set his nose to bleeding."

Q. "What is the meaning of these people armed and dressed in the German manner, holding halberds in their hands?" The painter replies that he works according to the fashion of painters and fools, and had found no other way to express the fact that the master of the house was rich and lived splendidly, and must have had servants who might have been thus occupied.

Q. "But there is a buffoon with a parrot on his wrist; what is he doing?" And so he is questioned as to all the personages of his drama.

He replies finally: "I believe, to tell the truth, that at that Supper there were only Christ and the Apostles; but when in a picture there is a space left, I fill it with figures of my invention."

Q. "But does it seem decent to you, in the Last Supper of our Lord, to represent buffoons, drunken Germans, dwarfs, and other stupidities? Do you not know that in Germany, and in other countries infested by heresies, it is customary in their pictures, full of foolish things, to caricature and ridicule the holy things of the Church, so as to teach false doctrines to ignorant people?"

Veronese calls to his aid the example of Michelangelo, who in his "Last Judgment" had painted Christ and most of the judged

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naked. But the inquisitor asks if he was of the opinion that that was proper and decent. Veronese replies:

"My very illustrious lords, I had not taken such matters into consideration. I was far from imagining such irregularities. I paint with such study as is natural to me, and as my mind can comprehend." He was, however, obliged to paint out his buffoons and dwarfs and similar heresies, and we have in the Academy of Venice the picture as the Inquisition willed it to be.

In 1577 the fire that destroyed the works of Bellini, Carpaccio, and Titian made a place for the pencil of Veronese. The senate nominated a commission to which was given the charge of finding the means to repair the disaster. The artist gave himself no concern in the matter, but kept at work in his studio while his competitors canvassed the commission. Contarini reproached him with his indifference to the opportunity, and he replied that he was more concerned about the execution of his works than to get commissions. His confidence in his merit was perhaps more the cause of his tranquillity, though the demand for his pictures must have made him really indifferent to the reception of new orders. He was, however, in spite of his indifference, commissioned to paint the ceiling of the council chamber, on which he did the "Triumph of Venice"; and he executed for the republic the great pictures of the campaigns of Mocenigo and Loredano, the "Return of Contarini from the victory at Chioggia"; the "Emperor Frederic at the feet of Pope Alexander III."; and others among his noblest works. From this time to the date of his death he was occupied with commissions from all the princes and notables of Europe, as well as from the rich cities of the Venetian state, which were all competitors for his work. His life was without incident in its unbroken triumph. In the year 1588, while taking part in a procession to celebrate the jubilee of Sixtus V., he caught a cold and fever, from which he died in a few hours. He was buried in the midst of his works in St. Sebastian, where his tomb is marked by a stone beneath a portrait-bust.

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE painting of Venice enthroned, with Justice and Peace at her feet, constitutes one of the large panels that adorn the ceiling of the Sala del Collegio in the Palace of the Doges at Venice. The panels are remarkably well preserved and fresh in appearance, but this one in particular appears as though painted but a short while ago, and is one of the most beautiful of the series. The figures are life-size. The sky is of a soft yet vigorous and well-tempered blue, and the clouds of a cool gray, their high lights of a rosy hue. It is treated very simply, and the gradations are very tender. The figure of Venice (Venezia) is clad in a rich creamy damask silk robe lined with ermine. The throne is hung with a canopy of rich crimson silk. The throne itself is the color of gold in shadow. The head of the queen is within the shade of the canopy, and is lighted by reflection from her garments below. It has a very winning, sweet, and beautiful countenance, so young, blithe, and serene. She holds the golden scepter, which is softly relieved against the sky. The globe on which she is seated, which represents the world, is of a soft, deep neutral blue. The lines of latitude and longitude are traced upon it in yellow or color of gold. The figure of Peace, relieved against it, is clad in an upper garment of a rich, soft deep green. The lace head-dress—identical with what is worn at the present day by the ladies—is of a dark neutral color, floating into the deep green garment. The lower robe is of a charming tone of yellow. She holds an olive branch, of a deep rich green, in either hand. Justice, opposite to her, holding the sword and scales, is clad in an overrobe of a fine crimson. The underrobe is an exquisite shade of ocher figured in soft, harmonious spots of Venetian red. The flesh-tints come out bright and luminous against the sky. The winged lion—the symbol of Venice—is of a soft, deep brownish tone, his wings of a grayish blue. The steps are of a soft gray, their shadows strong. The whole is most harmonious in color. One must see it in the afternoon when the sun shines into the room, and then it is revealed in all its regal splendor, and its lightness and delicacy and refinement are better appreciated.

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Chapter XXXVII

TINTORETTO (JACOPO ROBUSTI)

(Born 1518, died 1594)

By some critics Tintoretto is considered as marking the decline of Venetian art, in the sense of being the first example of this decline. This is unjust and untrue, whether as indicating a falling off in himself, or the decay of the school. Intellectually he was on the level of Titian; but he differed from him mentally and technically—the second as a consequence of the other, probably, but also first because he was not subjected to the very early discipline with which Titian began. That he began to paint late in life, as the old tradition went, is not proved or probable, but the internal evidence of his work points to an utter want of that vigorous early training which alone can give to execution the marvelous subtlety we find in Titian, Michelangelo, Raphael, and so many more of the great Italian painters. The same evidence points to a refractory nature, with intense individuality and an imagination impatient of control. Tintoretto may have begun early to work, but evidently he never submitted to severe discipline; he was born and lived in an atmosphere of art, gathering the sentiment of it with his mental development, and he painted as a poet writes when his life is passed in an epoch and in surroundings charged with poetry. His father, Battista Robusti, a dyer, put him to study with Titian, and the story goes that the master was so envious of his talent that he refused to keep him in his studio—a palpable fable, for so complete a master of all that painting meant at that time in Venice had no reason to envy the best work that Tintoretto ever did. That he was sent away from Titian's studio is very probable, and it is equally probable that the cause was in the

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refractoriness to discipline of which his work to the latest shows evidence. Envy is the world's most ready explanation of such a dissension.

The methodical and comprehensive system of Titian, providing in the first painting for the many operations to follow,—a system that had the prevision and preparation of a master's game of chess or a great general's campaign,—was impossible to the overcharged temperament of Tintoretto, in whom the fury of invention could brook no kind of dictation as to the process of delivery. He could never, like Titian, have turned his canvas to the wall, and have waited a month to see it progress a step; his work mastered him, not he his work, and in this is the chief ground of the difference between his art and that of Titian. He is said to have written on the wall of his studio, "The design of Michelangelo, and the color of Titian"; but he would have understood his own case better if he had seen that it was not exactly that which he wanted, but "the invention of Tintoretto, and the patience and the system of Titian," which, if he could have combined them, would have made him the greatest painter the world ever saw.

From the studio of Titian he went to that of Andrea Schiavone, a Dalmatian,[1] if we may judge from his name, and clearly not one of those natures due to the temperament of the serene race of the islands of the lagoons. Schiavone's technical characteristics were more in sympathy with Tintoretto; and though we have no work of the period of his stay with that painter, Ridolfi speaks of a portrait painted in a lamplight effect which was much admired in Venice, a fact which points to the character of his subsequent painting. He had a morbid activity; he would work for nothing but the cost of his materials when he could get no commissions, a habit which was the most efficient obstacle to his getting any. He filled the schools and churches with his compositions, and the fecundity of his genius is almost incredible to men of our day; but most of the work of this period has perished, so that we can say but little of its quality. A "Circumcision," however, in the church of the Carmine is attributed to this time. The drawing is stiff, the color powerful, and, as is almost invariably the case in his work, the composition inventive. A little later he painted for the Sta. Trinità five scenes from Genesis, two of which are now in the Academy, "The Fall" and "The Death of Abel." The former shows the

[1] According to Boschini, Schiavone was born in Sebenico, Dalmatia.

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influence of Titian, and the conception is poetical, but the Abel is hardly characteristic of Tintoretto.[1]

The impatience of his genius craved great spaces; he longed to paint all Venice, to cover all the blank walls with huge compositions, and he did paint the fronts of several houses for the bare cost of the materials. He painted the "Feast of Nebuchadnezzar" on the arsenal, and on the wall of a house near the Pont S. Angelo a battle and various other subjects, some of which are preserved in Zanetti's "Pitture a Fresco," published in Venice in 1760. He also decorated the Palazzo Zeno, and among other recorded works, in 1545, painted the ceiling of a room for Pietro Aretino. His first very important order, received in 1546, was for the decoration of the choir of the church of S. Maria dell' Orto, and this, as might be expected by a painter who had been begging the privilege of painting for nothing in a community where the chief customers for his work were the priests, he secured by offering to do it at cost. Of the subjects here, the "Last Judgment" and the "Worship of the Golden Calf" are among his chief works. They have grown black and obscure, and show the defects of his method, but the power is amazing. The common criticism of them is that the detail is extremely defective and has no relation to the expenditure of thought in the design and the power of the whole; but the common critic does not take into consideration the vital facts of the case. Tintoretto was in the habit, as all his biographers say, of studying the place for which his pictures were to be painted; and certainly no place could be found where the elaboration of detail would have been such supererogation as in this choir, where it is difficult with any light to see what is most easily to be seen. The enormous size of the pictures, too,—their height being fifty feet,—makes it imperative for the observer to keep at such a distance as would render fine details invisible in almost any light, and absolutely so in the semi-obscurity of the choir. The color is not what it was in the day of their painting; it is certainly far more dusky, and the probability is that when the pictures were finished they answered perfectly their purpose of being visible where they are. The artist received a gratuity of 100 ducats for his work, and an order to decorate the organ-case. On the inside of this he painted the "Martyrdom of St. Christopher" and the "Angels bringing the Cross to St. Peter." These are now in the chapel of the high

[1] Ruskin praises it highly as resembling *grisaille*.

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altar of the church, and are fine in color but indifferent in composition; but the subject on the outside of the organ-case, the "Presentation of the Virgin," is fine both in color and in composition. These paintings were the means of bringing Tintoretto into much repute, and the brotherhood of St. Mark obtained for their school the great picture of the "Miracle of St. Mark," now in the Academy, where it is not unworthily held, all elements considered, as the artist's most complete work. It is strongly dramatic, powerful in color, and has suffered less than most of the master's pictures from the blackening which, more or less, was the necessary consequence of his method of painting. The "Last Supper" in the sacristy of S. Giorgio Maggiore is more powerful, more imaginative in its composition, and vaster in its technical range; but it is less successful in its general attainment of the finer qualities of art. The execution is ruder, and the display of the knowledge of perspective is somewhat obtrusive. It gives the idea of a painter of great daring and originality, but as art it is distinctly inferior to the picture in the Academy.

The painting of the "Miracle of St. Mark" was followed by an order from Tommaso di Ravenna for three more scenes from the life of St. Mark. Of these, the "Embarkation of the Body of St. Mark at Alexandria," fine in color and in architectural composition, is in the old Nicene library, with the "Rescue of a Sailor from Drowning by the Saint." The third, the "Finding of the Body of the Saint at Alexandria," is in the church of the Angeli at Murano.

When Tintoretto began his work for the republic is not clear; probably it was not till Titian had made room for him. In the interim we know only of minor works. In 1560 he began to paint in the School of S. Rocco and the Doge's Palace. The school being just completed, the painters were invited to compete for the decoration of the Sala dell' Albergo by sending in sketches; and the other competitors, Veronese among them, sent in very careful designs. Tintoretto took the measure of the palace for the picture, painted it at his studio, and presented the finished picture. When the fraternity complained, and stated that all they wanted was a design, he replied that that was the way he designed. He offered the picture as a gift to the saint, and got the order to paint the ceiling, which was the work in consideration, on the same terms. It was of course difficult for the other artists to compete under such conditions, and the conclusion was inevitable. But in the end he had his reward in the commission to paint the principal picture for

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the system of illustration, the great "Crucifixion," for which he received 250 ducats, as well as that for the two smaller subjects at the sides of the door opposite the "Crucifixion," the "Carrying of the Cross," and the "Christ before Pilate," for which his compensation was 131 lire. In 1567 he painted three pictures for the church of the confraternity for 135 lire. In 1565 he seems to have become a member of the confraternity, and these pictures were painted between that time and 1567. After this we are in ignorance of his occupations until 1576, when he painted the centerpiece of the ceiling of the great hall, "The Plague of Serpents," and began the "Passover" and the "Moses Striking the Rock"; but in the latter part of 1577 he proposed, for a salary of 100 ducats a year, to decorate the whole school, at the rate of three pictures annually. The proposition was accepted; but Tintoretto died before he had finished his scheme.

The great "Crucifixion," which bears the date MDLXV, and is signed JACOBUS TINCTORETTUS, is generally accepted as the greatest of the painter's works; and the School of S. Rocco might well be called the School of Tintoretto, as it contains the greater number and in some respects the most instructive of his pictures. We find the first evidence of his employment by the state in the receipt, dated December 23, 1560, for twenty-five ducats for painting the portrait of the new Doge, Priuli; and as prior to this Titian had been the state portrait-painter, it may be supposed that Tintoretto had succeeded to the charge. In the following year the decoration of the walls of the Libreria Nuova was decreed, and Titian was appointed to overlook the younger painters who took part in the work. He seems to have thought that Tintoretto required supervision the most, which is not at all to be wondered at, but the latter succeeded in getting an independent commission for the "Diogenes." He was awarded, next, the painting of the three vacant walls of the council hall.

The battle of Lepanto, fought at this time, was naturally the occasion of a warm competition among the painters for the execution of the commemorative picture. The commission fell again to Tintoretto, as the result of his offer to do it at the cost of the material, an inducement which even the senate considered conclusive. He pleaded the sacrifice, at a later epoch, as a claim for reversion to the brokership of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, and this was allowed him in 1574. The great conflagration of 1574, followed by that of 1577, in destroying the works of Bellini, Carpaccio, and

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Titian, left room for Tintoretto and Veronese, and the former had the greater part in the work of restoration. The list of the pictures included in this vast commission is almost bewildering; but as examples of the range of the artist, one may look at the "Paradise" (painted in 1589–90), a vast canvas, full of wonderful detail of design and thought, but as a whole perplexed and confused to such a point that its system seems intentionally to have been left without key, and the "Bacchus and Ariadne" in the Sala dell' Anticollegio, painted in 1578. Tintoretto died in 1594, of fever complicated with some internal complaint.

Probably we have a more imperfect idea of the color of Tintoretto than of the other great Venetian painters, owing to his having painted on dark, generally deep-red, grounds, which at the time aided to harmonize the after-painting, but which with age came through and blackened the entire work, affecting most the transparent colors of the shadows and increasing the difference between the solid impasto and the thinner tints. This practice of Tintoretto's is entirely opposed to that of Bellini and Titian, who painted on white or light neutral-gray grounds with a carefully prepared foundation of solid color in the laying in of the subject, and guarded still further against change by leaving the picture to dry thoroughly between paintings, as did Titian, or by painting over a first painting of tempera, as did Bellini. The preparation of Tintoretto's canvas made it possible for him to get through his work with his characteristic rapidity, and was better suited than the orthodox Venetian method to his impatient and unmethodical temperament. The romance of his life is in the story of his daughter, to whom he was much attached, and who died before him. He was buried in the church of S. Maria dell' Orto, where, as his monuments, are the "Last Judgment," the "Worship of the Golden Calf," the "Presentation of the Virgin," and the "Martyrdom of St. Agnes."[1]

[1] Boschini, who lived near to the day of Tintoretto, and was one of his most enthusiastic admirers, says: "Whenever he had to do a work for the public, he first went to see the place where it was to go, to ascertain the height and the distance, and then, comformably to these, in order to form his conception of the story, he arranged on a table models of figures in wax made by himself, arranging them in groups, serpentine, pyramidal, capricious, eccentric, and animated. . . . When he had decided this important distribution, he laid in the picture in monochrome (*chiaroscuro*), having always some principal object with reference to which to arrange the general mass. And then he often, having sketched a great canvas, put it in its place to be surer of its suitableness; and if he saw something which made discord, he was capable not only of changing a single figure, but even, on account of that, many others around it also, not minding fatigue or time in a question of glory and honor."

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NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE legend of the "Miracle of St. Mark" is as follows: A certain Christian slave in the service of a nobleman of Provence disobeyed the commands of his lord in persisting to worship at the shrine of St. Mark, which was at some distance, and in this practice he spent much of his master's time. One day, on his return from his devotions, he was condemned to the torture; he was haled into the public square, bound hand and foot, and the torture was about to be inflicted, when the saint himself came down from heaven to his aid. His bonds were burst asunder, the instruments of torture were broken, and the executioners were dumfounded and amazed.

The picture hangs in Sala XV, called the Sala dell' Assunta, of the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice. It is painted on canvas, and measures 13 feet 8 inches high by 19 feet 6 inches wide. It would be vain to attempt to give any idea of its richness and glow of color. The sky is green of a mellow tone, grading off into a golden light toward the horizon. The flying robe of the saint is an orange-yellow, burning like an August moon in a sea of green. The portion of the robe about his body is a rich crimson. I invert my opera-glass and gaze at it through the larger end, and the painting, reduced to a miniature, blazes like an array of precious stones. The woman holding the child is a jasper of brownish yellow. The man above, as well as the one clinging to the pillar, is jet-black. The one standing on the pedestal of the pillar has a ruby vest, very dark and lustrous. The figure kneeling over the slave is of a turquoise-blue. The amber flesh of the slave is relieved against a chocolate-colored ground, or rather pavement. The draperies above are in mingled hues of saffron, blue, gold, and crimson. The Turk holding up the splintered instrument has a creamy-white head-dress figured with blue. His robe is of a soft neutral-greenish tone. The judge, seated on high, is clad in an upper vestment of a deep, rich cardinal. The robe over his knees is yellow, soft, and low in tone. The soldier seated on the step toward the front, with his back turned to the spectator, has a vest of red, bright and of a crimson hue. The shadows are very strong, and have blackened a little with time. The whole, however, is harmonious, glowing, and gem-like, and is painted with great vigor. It is said that there are three portraits of the painter in the body of the work: namely, the figure immediately above the woman holding the child; the one next to the turbaned Turk, with the feather from the apex of his turban; and that in the extreme right of the picture, next to the soldier clad in chain-armor. The portrait of the donor is also to be seen, in the left-hand corner; he is in the attitude of prayer, kneeling at the foot of the column, with eyes closed.

The "Death of Abel" hangs in the Sala dell' Assunta of the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice. It is painted on canvas, and measures 7 feet 1 inch long by 4 feet 6½ inches high. It is very well preserved, and is rich and glowing and tender in coloring, and of a depth and softness only equaled by Rembrandt. It is, in fact, a Venetian Rembrandt in this respect.

It is not to be photographed in its present position, for, hanging rather high, I found that when the camera was elevated to a level with the picture it was difficult to see it on account of the light, which, falling from above, cast a glaze over its surface. It is seen well, however, from below, and standing to one side. These things are not allowed to be removed for purposes of copying. I worked

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up my copy upon the outline of what meager photograph it was possible to obtain, engraving it in the adjacent room of drawings, where there was a good light, and from whence I could see the original with ease by the aid of an opera-glass, and reflecting it in a mirror. In this way I also cut the "Miracle of St. Mark."

The scene takes place within the precinct of a quiet grove, from which inclosure a spirited landscape is seen. In the middle distance, and just above a rise in the ground, can be discerned the figure of Cain in the act of tilling the soil. It will be observed that Abel is falling off an altar on which he had been seated when attacked by his brother. The head of the calf lying near by is suggestive of the sacrifice that had just taken place, and Abel's falling at the foot of the altar recalls the words of Christ, "From the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." Cain has snatched a splintered bone from off the pile, and with this he deals the death-blow. How fine yet terrible is the action! The composition is perfection. The bronzed skin of Cain contrasts strongly with the paler complexion of his more refined brother. His dark rough hand presses rudely down upon his neck. But note the hand of Abel, raised as though pleading for mercy. I was more and more attracted by its character until it appeared to me as though shouting — like an open mouth crying "O God!"

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Chapter XXXVIII

CORREGGIO (ANTONIO ALLEGRI)

(Born 1494, died 1534)

The father of the painter known, from the insignificant little town between Modena and Mantua in which he was born, as Correggio, was a clothier, but the uncle of the artist, Lorenzo Allegri, was a painter of the local school of art, of which the head was Antonio Bartolozzi. It is probable that Antonio Allegri was a pupil in the school. All that we know is that he was set to work in an artist's studio at an early age, and next appears as a master, painting the churches of his native town in a style which for individuality and power of a certain kind must remain a problem. The chroniclers have not failed to suggest solutions in attributing his education to certain masters; but evidence is lacking for any authoritative statement of that kind, nor does Correggio's matured style grow naturally out of that of any of his contemporaries or predecessors of whom we know, unless it may show a slight early tinge of the school of Ferrara. There is no proof that he went to Rome or came under the influence of Raphael or Michelangelo, or that he studied under Da Vinci. It is useless to spend conjectures on origins or supposed influences which are not recorded in the work of the painter. Our first positive information of him is that when twenty years of age, and therefore not legally capable of making a contract, he and his father were called to the convent of the Minor Brethren of S. Francesco in Correggio, to arrange for the execution of an altarpiece, the price of which was fixed at one hundred ducats. This was in August of 1514; and in the following April the picture was delivered, having been executed,

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as is shown by a memorandum of the delivery of the panel for the work, since the previous November. The picture represents the Madonna and Child with St. Francis and three other saints, and is now in the Dresden Gallery. It is signed "Antonius de Alegris P." In the town of Correggio there remains an altarpiece in the church of Sta. Maria della Misericordia, representing Saints Leonard, Martha, Mary Magdalene, and Peter. Of what may be recognized as the painter's early work, preceding these altarpieces, but already of well-formed manner, may be accepted a panel lately discovered in London, "Christ taking Leave of Mary before the Passion," a Madonna and Child at Hampton Court, and some minor works at Milan.

In 1518, when twenty-four years old, Correggio came to Parma, his fame preceding him, and he received at once important commissions. Donna Giovanna, abbess of the convent of St. Paul, commissioned him to paint the ceiling of the great chamber in a fine suite of rooms occupied by her. The fresco represents a vine-covered trellis in which are sixteen oval apertures through which the blue sky appears, and in every opening there is a group of little genii playing with hunting-trophies. Sixteen lunettes underneath contain mythological scenes in chiaroscuro of gray. Over the mantel is Diana mounting her chariot. Classical convention is disregarded in the mythology, and perspective in the architectural design; in these particulars, as in his method of painting, Correggio refuses to be other than his own master. It is not known when this decoration was finished, but in 1519 the painter was at home again, called there by a lawsuit, which he finally gained in 1528, and which concerned a legacy left him by a maternal uncle. During the year 1519, however, he was a not infrequent visitor to a fair daughter of Parma, the orphan child of an esquire of the Duke of Mantua; and she became his wife at the end of the year. In 1521 he had a son born, and soon after moved to Parma, where he resided until 1530, when, having lost his wife, he returned to his native town. Here he possessed two houses and some land, and was in favor with the ruling family, as appears from his being a witness for the marriage-contract of the daughter of the lord, Gian Battista.

In 1521 Correggio signed an agreement for the decoration of the cupola and the apse of S. Giovanni of the Benedictines of Parma, for which work he was paid 272 gold ducats in 1524, 30 having been paid in advance. The paintings in the apse seem to

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have been removed in 1587, and are now in the museum of Parma, except two fragments in London; those of the cupola are still in place. While at work on the painting of S. Giovanni, in the autumn of 1522, negotiations were entered into with the painter by the chapter of the Duomo of Parma for painting the choir, with its chapel, and the dome, in fresco. He was to receive 1000 ducats for the whole; and as the payment was made by instalments between the years 1526 and 1530, it is probable that the work was completed in that period, though the choir seems to have been thrown out of the contract. In the design of the dome the base of the vault is surrounded by a balustrade, on which sit little angels, and which represents the tomb of the Virgin; the dome represents the sky, with clouds through which the Madonna is carried up to the waiting company of saints surrounded by angels, the whole suffused in a golden light. The good people of Parma, whether clerics or laymen, were not pleased with the work; but one of the chroniclers reports that Titian saw the dome, and was much pleased with it, which may be true, as Titian is recorded as having been in Parma in 1530.

Of the easel-pictures of this period, the "Betrothal of St. Catherine," now in the Louvre, was painted about 1519. There is a small replica of it in Modena in a private collection. The "Madonna del Coniglio" at Naples is of this period, as are the "Madonna and Child with St. John" in the Prado at Madrid, together with a "Noli me Tangere"; also several pictures at Parma, in the gallery, and a "St. Sebastian," painted in 1515 for a gild of archers of Modena. The "Madonna Kneeling by the Child" of the Uffizi is probably of this time, as well as the "Christ at Gethsemane" of the National Gallery in London. The "Holy Night," now at Dresden, was commissioned in 1522 and put in its place in the church of S. Prospero in Reggio di Emilia in 1530, the price for it being recorded as 208 lire. It has been sought to identify the well-known "Magdalene Reading," at Dresden, with the painting described by Vittoria Gambara in a letter to Beatrice d'Este in 1528; but it does not correspond with the description, which is of a Magdalene kneeling in a cave, with hands raised in prayer, and has now been conclusively determined not to be by Correggio. Of the mythological subjects painted by the artist, the best preserved is the "Antiope" in the Louvre. The "Mercury Instructing Cupid," in the National Gallery in London, is one of the most important subjects of this class

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that we have, and the "Danaë" in the Borghese Gallery at Rome is the most masterly of Correggio's nude subjects. The "Ganymede" and the "Io" are at Vienna, and the "Leda" is at Berlin.

Correggio spent his last years in retirement in his native town, nor does there seem to be any foundation for the ingenious stories of his dying from the over-exertion of carrying home a sack of copper coin with which certain monks were said to have paid him for his work. He left a son, Pomponio, who was also a painter, and one of his three daughters survived him, as did his parents. He died March 5, 1534, when scarcely forty years old.

No one of the great painters of the Renaissance has provoked greater extremes of appreciation than Correggio. A great painter he certainly was, with certain powers developed to the highest degree attained by Italian art, but with a seductive technical mastery which has been a false light to all students who have come after him. In his catalogue of the National Gallery, Sir F. W. Burton has given a most admirable summary of the qualities of Correggio's art, to which I am disposed to make only one dissent,—from the attribution to him of any power over the imagination,—when he says: "None before him had shown the capacity of painting to affect the imagination (irrespective of subject) by the broad massing of light and shadow, by subordinating color to breadth of effect and aërial perspective, and by suggesting the sublimity of space and light." In that intellectual side of art in which the imagination resides, Correggio seems to me singularly torpid and devoid of any gift akin to the inspiration which quickens imagination, if indeed it is not identical with it. The sensuous, the splendor of surface, the magic of execution, the mastery of color-harmonies and of composition of light and shade,—the great technical, but purely technical, qualities of painting,—are all that I can admit to Correggio; and the proof that he had little besides these lies in the fact that a translation of his work into any medium in which his technique is lost becomes almost too commonplace for study. Burton says of him:

> The proportions of his figures are frequently faulty. The grace which fascinates us tends to degenerate into affectation, and movement into tumult. . . . In the management of the brush he has been excelled by few and surpassed by none, and his mode of execution and his coloring are as peculiar to him as his other qualities. His flesh-tones are rich and warm, or cool and opalescent, with infinitely subtle modulations and transitions. The harmonies he sought differ from those of the great

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Venetians. Full colors he used with powerful effect in his oil-pictures, but he was fond of quiet tertiaries. His general abstention from green, which plays so conspicuous a part in the Venetian system of color, is remarkable.

But he concludes with a sentiment which is echoed by most earnest critics:

Taking this great genius by himself, it is difficult to overestimate his powers. But the influence he exercised upon later art was more baneful than otherwise.

The quality of Correggio which to a painter is more than any other the sign of his immense power is in his touch, the richness and decision of his impasto, and the marvelous sweep of his brush. It is this evidence of power, the fascination of this supreme knowledge of his subject and facile success in rendering it, which give the spectator the impression of a greater force beyond, which did not exist. His conceptions are merely pictorial, but, as compared with anything before him, peculiarly pictorial; there was neither religious exaltation nor recognition of any religious ideal; there was neither imagination in his conception nor depth in his sentiment; he ran the old and the new mythology through the same fusion into the same molds. While his splendid workmanship redeems many deficiencies, his successes and their cheapness, when measured by the larger scale of values, made him one of the greatest dangers to those who, coming after him, caught his vein of feeling and learned to content themselves with what lies on the surface. His influence can have been only "baneful" and never "otherwise"; for the example of shaking off conventional limitations in treatment of religious subjects had been given before, and in wiser measure. In Correggio independence in conception of religious themes becomes profanity. His was the end of religious painting.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

THE "Madonna and Child in Glory," by Correggio, is an early work of that master. It hangs in the Uffizi Gallery, in the Sala della Scuola Italiani, next to the Tribuna. It is of small dimensions, not measuring more than 6⅛ inches by 9¾ inches, so that my reproduction of it is but little smaller than the original. It is a brilliant and charming little gem, naïve and sweet in conception. The colors are rich and glowing. The background is of a bright, soft yellow, with delicate rays shooting through it from the brighter nimbus about the Madonna's head; the clouds above are of soft, warm gray tones, and the cherubs' heads melt-

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ing into them are of warm flesh-tints. The angel with the lyre and the woeful expression to the right of the Madonna is clad in a yellow robe, soft and rich. Her hair is yellow, and the dark wing which is seen at the back is of a rich, deep crimson. The lyre is yellow like gold, and the flesh pearly and bright. Why has the artist given this angel so sad a countenance? It is perhaps a prophetic note of the suffering and sacrifice to come, though all is joy and glory now. The drapery of the Madonna is, for the most part, blue. The under portions, covering her breast and her sleeve, are of a soft dull red. The blue robe that falls over her head and shoulders has a lining of green. It is turned up over the forehead, and falls over the shoulder. The drapery of the knees is of a fine, rich tone of blue. The flesh-tints of the Madonna and Child are in cool, pearly, bright colors. The angel playing on the viola is clad in a grayish-blue robe, purplish in the shadows. The hair of this angel is of a soft brown, and the viola is of a soft yellow color. The clouds in the foreground are of cool, bright tints. I have endeavored to give some of the force and brilliancy of the original by an admixture of fine and coarse cutting, for a coarse line gives a sparkle to the tint, while by a fine line we can get a dull, soft gray. Thus the foreground clouds owe much of their brilliancy to the contrast of the soft, fine gray cutting of the background, and the brightness of the flesh-tints is enhanced by their juxtaposition to finer work.

This work of Correggio is under the name of Titian, but the authorities are unanimous in ascribing it to Correggio.

T. C.

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